

Śivapādaśekhara—He whose crown bears the feet of Śiva

SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

C. Sivaramamurti

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PREFACE

It was indeed a pleasure to accept the invitation of the Lalit Kalā Akademi to write on *South Indian Bronzes*, as this subject has been a fascinating study for me for many years.

Much new material has come to light since the days when Coomaraswamy and Gangoly wrote their pioneering treatises. In 1933, Gravely and Ramachandran published the Catalogue of Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum. It is the first exhaustive treatment of the subject. But at that time the existence of Pallava metal images was still in doubt and separate schools in the South could not yet be fully recognized. Today, the existence of Pallava metal images and other styles in different areas in the South under different dynasties is coming to be widely recognized. In this volume an attempt has been made to indicate a broad-based classification of several styles as well as to establish a reasonably certain chronology without being dogmatic. It is hoped that this will prove useful to students of this subject for further research. Apart from the well-known masterpieces, many fine examples little known to the world at large have also been included in this publication, with a view to a better understanding of the glorious achievements of the South Indian metal sculptor in the days of the Pallavas, the Choḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Cheras.

I am thankful to the various museums and individuals who have helped me with illustrations for this book. I must here mention the Director-General of Archaeology in India, the National Museum, the Madras Museum, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the Royal Academy, London, the Musée Guimet, Paris, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Rittberg Museum, Zurich, the Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. I am also thankful to Mr. S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari, Mr. N. Y. Shastri, Mr. Gautam Sarabhai, and Mr. Haridas Swali for photographs of their splendid collections. For personal kindness I am grateful to Dr. S. T. Satyamurti, Superintendent, Madras Museum; Mr. S. R. Balasubramanyam; Mlle. J. Auboyer, Musée Guimet; Dr. W. G. Archer, Victoria and Albert Museum; Dr. Aschwin Lippe, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. Wehril, Zurich City Museum; Dr. J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Amsterdam University; Professor J. Filliozat and Mr. Pattabiramin, Institute Francais d'Indologie, Pondicherry; Mrs. Madhuri Desai and Mr. Soli Batlivala of the Bhulabhai Memorial Institute; Mr. Pramod Chandra; Mrs. Ruth Reeves; and the Collector of Tanjavur.

I do not know how to thank adequately Mr. Khandalavala, the Honorary Editor of the Lalit Kalā publications who has discussed several problems with me relating to the bronzes and helped me in the selection of plates. The Assistant Editor Mrs. Helen Chandra has spared no pains to make this publication as attractive as possible. I express my grateful thanks to them both.

C. Sivaramamurti

New Delhi, 25th February, 1963.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

A brief historical introduction is necessary to understand the development of the craft of producing bronzes in South India, of which we have early examples from the Sātavāhana period.

Aśoka's vast empire extended to the limits of the Choḷa kingdom in the south and practically covered the whole of India, overflowing into Kandahār, the Kabul Valley and Baluchistan. The Śuṅgas and Sātavāhanas who succeeded the Mauryas in the north and south respectively in about B.C. 200 continued the Mauryan tradition. The Sātavāhanas who ruled in the Deccan and the south had a long reign of about 400 years from *circa* 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. The early inscription at Nānāghāṭ which graphically presents the glory of the early Sātavāhana king Śātakarṇī, who performed several sacrifices and gave liberal gifts, speaks of the opulence of the empire and its prosperity. On the Sāñchī gateway is an inscription mentioning that it was fashioned by the ivory carvers of Vidiśā. The fine workmanship in stone of these ivory carvers reveals the high standard of efficiency of these craftsmen. The metal images found at Buddhām, Amarāvatī and other places near about the eastern Andhra capital and in Kolhāpur near the western capital of Pratishṭhāna show the high watermark of metalwork in the Sātavāhana period. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷamāvi in the first half of the 2nd century A.D. greatly fostered art, and we know that this was the best period of Sātavāhana art. This tradition was continued by Yajña Śātakarṇī, Chandra Śātakarṇī and other successors of these illustrious monarchs.

The Ikshvākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. were also great patrons of art, and though followers of Vedic Brāhmanism, were still the creators of the magnificent Buddhist monuments at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Recent discoveries have shown that the metalwork of the Ikshvāku period in the Kṛishṇā Valley was indeed as competent as their stone carving.

The Pallavas who ruled from Kāñchī in the 4th century A.D. extended the northern boundary of their kingdom up to the Kṛishṇā Valley. As their earlier chronology is somewhat obscure, it is with the advent of Siṁhavishṇu that Pallava history has to be considered for our purpose.

Siṁhavishṇu's son Mahendravarman I (A.D. 600-630) was singularly art-minded and was responsible for the introduction of rock-cut architecture in the Tamil country early in the 7th century A.D. Being descended from the Vishṇukuṇḍins on his maternal side, Mahendravarman brought to the south this novel type of cave architecture as well as other traditions from the Kṛishṇā region with their roots in the Sātavāhana tradition.

Mahendravarman I was originally a Jaina who was converted to Śaivism by the saint Appar. With extraordinary zeal Mahendravarman studded his kingdom with rock-cut monuments. He has given us wonderful creations, such as the sculpture of Gaṅgādhara from Tiruchirāpalli (Trichinopoly), which count among the masterpieces of Indian art. The name of Mahendravarman has come down in history not only as the pioneer of South India's architecture and painting, but also as a poet, dramatist and musician. The Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription describes him as a curious-minded king, who, discarding perishable materials such as brick, timber,

metal or mortar for constructing temples, cut them out of the living rock. Mahendrataṭāka, one of the most famous irrigation tanks in South India, was his gift to his subjects.

His son Narasiṁhavarman I (A.D. 630-668), also known as Māmalla, was even greater than his father, both in war and in peace. Along with Harshavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606–648) and Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642) of Badami, he makes up the most powerful royal triad of his time, for he defeated Pulakeśin II who had repulsed Harshavardhana. He also restored to his throne Mānavarman, the refugee king of Ceylon, with the help of his large fleet which sailed from his port at Mahābalipuram to achieve this purpose. The great monuments at Mahābalipuram are a tribute to the eternal glory of Narasiṁhavarman I. Parameśvaravarman I (A.D. 670–680) was yet another great Pallava ruler.

Narasiṁhavarman II (A.D. 680–720), also called Rājasiṁha, along with his art-minded queen Raṅgapatākā, built the Kailāśanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram (Conjeevaram), a fine example of early Pallava masonry work. Nandivarman (A.D. 731–796), who ruled in the 8th century A.D., was responsible for the other famous shrine at Kāñchīpuram, the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple. But frequent wars between the Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas weakened both the empires.

In the second half of the 7th century A.D. Arikesarī Māravarman (A.D. 670–710), the Pāṇḍyan king, who was a Jaina, was converted back to the fold of his forefathers by the boy saint Tirujñānasambandar. The boy saint was requested by the king's prime minister Kulachchirai, at the instance of the queen Maṅgayarkaraśi, to win back her husband to his original faith. Like Mahendravarman, this Pāṇḍyan king advanced his faith with remarkable enthusiasm supported by his queen, who was a princess from the Choḷa family. The Pāṇḍyas were fighting the Pallavas, who had overcome the Choḷas and had extended their boundary up to Tiruchirāpalli District. During the time of Mahendravarman I and Narasiṁhavarman I, the Pallava power was dominant in the south. In the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A.D. 731-796), the Pāṇḍyan king Māravarman Rājasiṁha (A.D. 730–765), also known as Pallavabhañjana, attacked and besieged Pallavamalla at Nandigrāma, from where he was rescued by his victorious general Udayachandra. Neḍuñjaḍayan, the son of Māravarman Rājasiṁha, had a minister Māraṅgāri, who excavated a temple for Vishṇu in the Ānamalai hills near Madurai (Madura). The wars of the Chāḷukyas, the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas freely brought in mutual influences which are observed in sculpture.

The last Pallava king Aparājita (A.D. 879–897) was still fighting with the Pāṇḍyas, though he was finally overcome by the Choḷa king Āditya I (A.D. 871–907). From this period onwards we get the early phase of Choḷa art, which imbibes and gives in an enhanced degree of excellence the earlier traditions of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas with an admixture of Chāḷukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa ornamental elements.

In the heart of Bādāmī, on a boulder, in Pallava characters, is a fragmentary inscription of the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman I, who sacked the capital of the Chāḷukya monarch Pulakeśin II. Maṅgaleśa (A.D. 598–609), the brother of the king Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 566–598), father of Pulakeśin II, and who succeeded his elder brother, was a great patron of art and created several magnificent caves and temples in his capital in the 6th century A.D. It is these that inspired some of the grand panels at Mahābalipuram, for Narasiṁhavarman I, who fought with Pulakeśin II, carried home Chāḷukya art traditions.

The Chāḷukyas who succeeded the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan had not only great art traditions but also military traditions.

Pulakeśin II made his brother Kubja Vishṇuvardhana the viceroy of the newly acquired Andhra dominions of Veṅgi.

The subsequent feuds between Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655–681), the Chāḷukya king and

Parameśvaravarman I, the Pallava king, were many. Vikramāditya I claimed the conquest of Kāñchī but the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman I gives one of the most graphic pictures of a battle in epigraphical literature and describes how effectively he defeated Vikramāditya I and made "several *lakshas* take to flight covered only by a rag". During the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A.D. 731–796), the Chāḷukya king Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733–745) invaded Kāñchī and "entered the city of Kāñchī and acquired high merit by restoring much gold to the stone temple Rājasiṁheśvara, and other gods which had been caused to be built by Narasiṁhapotavarman."

It is thus clear that being struck by the beauty of the Pallava temples at Kāñchī, Vikramāditya I induced some of the sculptors and architects of the Pallava realm to come to his kingdom. There is interesting evidence for this in the sculptural and architectural features of the temples of his period at Paṭṭaḍakal, as also in the two inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Virūpāksha temple, one of which mentions the builder as "the most eminent *sūtradhārī* (architect) of the southern country."

The Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna temples built by Trailokyamahādevī, consort of Vikramāditya I, are typical of the southern tradition.

Soon the realm of the early Western Chāḷukyas came to an end and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, under Dantidurga (A.D. 742–756), established their power. The feud between the Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas was continued by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Dantidurga (A.D. 742–756) is mentioned in most poetic terms in the Bagumra plates. He conquered Kāñchī, and this military expedition resulted in the marriage of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A.D. 731–796) with the Rāshṭrakūṭa princess Revā, whose son Dantivarman was named after his maternal grandfather.

Matrimonial alliances, however, did not avert another invasion by the Rāshṭrakūṭas under Govinda III (A.D. 792–814). Krishṇa I (A.D. 756–773), the successor of Dantidurga, was responsible for the world famous Kailāśa temple at Ellora, which closely follows the Virūpāksha temple at Paṭṭaḍakal, with even the details of the sculptured panels repeated.

The Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III (A.D. 940–967), who occupied Toṇḍamaṇḍalam about A.D. 944, and continued to hold it to the end of his reign, has left many inscriptions in Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts. These clearly indicate that he had not only made his power felt in the south, but that his claim as conqueror of Kāñchī and Tañjāvūr was not an idle boast, and that a good part of the northern portion of the Choḷa kingdom was annexed to his territory. After nearly twenty-five years of Rāshṭrakūṭa rule in the northern part of the Choḷa dominion it is no wonder that we have sculpture showing a mingled grace of Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa and Choḷa elements in this area.

The later Chāḷukyas from Kalyāṇī, who succeeded the Rāshṭrakūṭas, also engaged in frequent wars with the Choḷas, and probably Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076–1127), was the greatest figure of the later phase of the Western Chāḷukya rule.

The early Western Chāḷukya traditions which blossomed in the Veṅgi soil, with the additional flavour of earlier Vishṇukuṇḍin and other traditions during the time of Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and his immediate successors, had a splendid efflorescence in the time of Vijayāditya II (A.D. 808–847). This was the warrior king of the Eastern Chāḷukya line who fought for twelve years before he unsheathed his sword and kept the Rāshṭrakūṭas at bay, and built one hundred and eight temples in his kingdom as a thanksgiving to Śiva for his victories in one hundred and eight battles.

Chāḷukya Bhīma (A.D. 892–921) and Guṇaga Vijayāditya (A.D. 849–892), amongst his successors were warriors who encouraged art, and Eastern Chāḷukya sculpture during this time

assumes a quality which indicates the fusion of the traditions of the Western Chāḷukyas, Pallavas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Choḷas and Eastern Gaṅgas.

From the time of Śaktivarman (A.D. 1000–1011) and Rājarāja Narendra (A.D. 1019–1061), some more Choḷa influences are seen in the Eastern Chāḷukya area owing to the matrimonial relationship between both the royal houses.

The late Chāḷukya traditions were continued by the Hoysaḷas, amongst whom Vishṇuvardhana (A.D. 1110–1152), the Jaina monarch who was converted by Rāmānuja to the Vaishṇava faith, is famous for his marvellous temples at Belur and Haḷebīd.

The Kākatīyas of Wāraṅgal, who were the contemporaries of the Hoysaḷas of whom the last great monarch was Pratāparudra, were also patrons of art and literature. The ruins at Wāraṅgal show the achievement of the Kākatīya sculptors.

The last important phase of art in South India is a commingling of late Chāḷukya and late Choḷa art under the Vijayanagara monarchs.

Vijayālaya (A.D. 850–871), in the 9th century A.D. founded a small kingdom which was built up by his successors. In the time of Āditya (A.D. 871–907) and Parāntaka (A.D. 907–955), the son and grandson respectively of Vijayālaya, there was much temple building activity and Parāntaka, who was devoted to Śiva, covered the temple at Chidambaram with gold. Gaṇḍarāditya (A.D. 949–959), the son of Parāntaka, was a pious king and the author of *Tiruviśaippā*, a hymn on the Chidambaram temple, wherein it is mentioned how his father covered the shrine of Naṭarāja with gold. Śembianmādevī, the queen of Gaṇḍarāditya, who was widowed at a young age, was the most pious queen that we know of in history, highly respected by successive kings of the Choḷa dynasty. She was probably one of the most remarkable queens in a family whose tradition of building and endowing temples accounts for many other princesses of the line, such as Kundavai, the sister of the famous Rājarāja, following in her footsteps.

Rājarāja (A.D. 985–1015) was a remarkable ruler and was the most notable in the Choḷa line, great alike in military triumphs, the organisation of his empire, patronage of art and literature and in religious tolerance. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, the magnificent temple of Śiva named after the king Rājarājeśvaramuḍayār was completed, and a copper *kalaśa*, thickly gilt with gold, was dedicated to adorn the finial of the *vimāna*. The large treasure captured by the monarch by his victories over several contemporary kingdoms was utilised for the enrichment of this temple at Tañjāvūr (Tanjore). His intense devotion to Śiva has earned him the title *Śivapādaśekhara* and his taste for art the epithet *Nityavinoda*. The long series of inscriptions of Rājarāja from the plinth of the temple at Tañjāvūr constitutes a valuable record of history and gives us an idea of the emperor's personality, influence, power and liberality and also illuminates us regarding the economic, political and social conditions of his day. They also give us in detail the magnificent wealth of bronzes dedicated by him to the temple, of which some have been preserved to this day. The greatness of Rājarāja was probably eclipsed, though only partially, by that of his great son Rājendra (A.D. 1012–1044), who was an outstanding military genius. On his return from his successful military campaign from the Gangetic area, he erected a 'liquid pillar of victory' *(jalamayastambha)*, in the shape of a huge tank in the new capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram built by him to celebrate his triumph. Figuratively, the water of the Ganges in this tank was the tribute he obtained from the northern rulers he vanquished. Close to this irrigation tank, now in ruins, stands the great temple of Śiva erected by him as a thanksgiving to his patron deity. The war trophies he brought from Noḷambavāḍi, Kaliṅga, Veṅgi and other places have not only been dovetailed into Choḷa structures but have served to influence the artistic taste of the Choḷa sculptors.

Kulottuṅga II (A.D. 1135–1150), the son of Vikramachoḷa, caused elaborate renovation in the temple at Chidambaram, as narrated in the *Kulottuṅgaśoḷanuḷa*, an eulogy of this king. This interest was sustained in the reign of his son Rājarāja II (A.D. 1146–1173), whose *biruda* Rājagaṁbhīra is recorded in the *maṇḍapa* of the temple at Dārāsuram, which was built in his time. A diplomatic marriage between Rājasundarī and the Kaliṅga king Rājarāja (A.D. 1070–1078), accounts for the offspring named Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva, a long-lived monarch of the eastern Gaṅga line, from whom was descended Narasiṁha I (A.D. 1238–1264), the famous builder of the Koṇārak temple. This explains the enigma of the beautiful temple on wheels drawn by horses at Koṇārak, which is but an elaboration of the motif of wheel and horse added to the *vimāna* that occurs for the first time at Dārāsuram and Chidambaram in the 12th century A.D.

The last of the Choḷa emperors, who was a great builder and whose reign was marked by several additions to the glorious chapter of Choḷa art and architecture, was Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178–1218). His hand is evident not only in the most important monument of his reign, the Kampahareśvara temple at Tribhuvanam, but also at Kāñchī, Madurai, Chidambaram, Tiruviḍaimarudur and Dārāsuram.

With the weakening of the Choḷas during the last few decades of their reign, the Pāṇḍyas gained power. The latter continued the earlier traditions which were practically the same both in the Choḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. The late Choḷa *gopurams*, occurring at Chidambaram itself, are equalled by magnificent ones erected by the late Pāṇḍyas. The eastern *gopuram* at Chidambaram, erected by Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1251–1268), and the ones at Jambukeśvaram and Śrīraṅgam are magnificent structures closely resembling the Choḷa *gopurams*. The long inscription from Śrīraṅgam extols Sundara Pāṇḍya's warlike exploits and also his activities as a temple builder.

In the 14th century, the Vijayanagara empire was established and it became the dominant power in the southern peninsula. The Vijayanagara style of architecture was a continuation of the late Choḷa and Pāṇḍya tradition, combining to some extent in the Canarese and Telugu districts the Chāḷukya traditions that had been there earlier. One of the greatest rulers of this dynasty was Kṛishṇadevarāya (A.D. 1509–1529), who was not only a statesman, ruler and warrior, but also a scholar, a poet and a patron of fine arts. The most prolific building activity was in his time and it is surprising to note the many towers which he erected, which greet pilgrims as they approach the temples in South India and the Deccan. In fact, just as Aśoka is reputed to have built 84,000 *stūpas* all over the land, Kṛishṇadevarāya is reputed to have built a huge tower for almost every temple of importance in South India. The Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi is a magnificent shrine even in its ruined state and so also is that of Bālakṛishṇa at the same place, which was built to enshrine the image brought by him as a war trophy from Udayagiri in Nellore District after vanquishing the Gajapati king of Orissa.

The last phase of art in the south was during the time of the Nāyaks. The most splendid *gopuram* of the south is of the time of Tirumala Nāyak (A.D. 1623–1650) at Madurai while his *Pudumaṇḍapa* is famous. Tirumala Nāyak was a renowned patron of art. Similarly in Tañjāvūr and Kumbakoṇam, Raghunāthanāyaka was responsible for excellent architecture and sculpture. This was a period of titanic work and it cannot be denied that during the time of the Nāyaks there was the last flicker of art in South India.

MODE OF CASTING

The mode of casting metal images is termed *madhūchchhishṭavidhāna* or the lost-wax method, known as *ciré perdue* in French. As the name itself suggests, the molten metal is poured into the hollow of the mould. There are two ways of casting metal images, the hollow method and the solid—*sushira* and *ghana* respectively. Though the smaller images for household worship were usually cast in the solid fashion, the large ones were sometimes cast according to the hollow method. There are references to both the modes in early Choḷa inscriptions describing the images gifted by the emperors to the temple for worship—*ghanamāga eḻundaruluvitta Chaṇḍīśvaraprasādadevar*, "the God Chaṇḍīśvaraprasādadeva cast solid and set up,"[1] and *ghanapoḷḷalāga chcheyda ṛishabham*, "a bull cast hollow."[2]

The *madhūchchhishṭavidhāna* method is described in the *Śilpaśāstras* and there is a chapter on it in the *Mānasāra* which has an extremely corrupt text, except for three or four lines which may be reconstructed as follows:

tadūrdhve mṛittikām lepya śoshayet tad vichakshaṇaḥ/
tat piṇḍam uttāpayed vā madhūchchhishṭodgame punaḥ//
kartur ichchhā yathā lohair dhṛitam etad praśasyate/
pūrtim nayejjalam prokshya tyaktvā tad dagdhamṛittikām//[3]

"After coating the wax figure over with clay the clever artisan should first dry and then heat the earthen mass to allow the wax to run out; it should now be filled with the desired metal and the cast image finished by breaking the burnt earthen mould and cleaning it with water."

A short clear description of bronze-casting is obtained also in the *Vishṇusamhitā:*

lohe siktamayīm archām kārayitvā mṛidāvṛitām/
suvarṇādīni samśodhya vidrāvyāṅgāranaipuṇaiḥ/
kūśalaiḥ kārayed yatnāt sampūrṇam sarvato ghanam //

"A complete wax image prepared and coated with clay may be cast as a solid one in gold or other metals properly tested and melted in the requisite temperature by experts."

Another clear picture of casting images in metal is given by the Western Chāḷukya king Someśvara (A.D. 1127–1138) in his encyclopaedic work *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* or *Mānasollāsa*.

The popularity of this art is clear from the fact that the parable of molten copper poured into a mould assuming the shape of the required figure is given in several early texts of Indian philosophy. Śaṅkara in his *Brahmasūtrabhāshya* (I. i, 12) gives this parable in the words *mūshānishiktadrutatāmrādipratimāvat*, i.e. like images wrought of copper and other molten metal poured from a crucible into the mould. This is particularly interesting as Śaṅkara was a contemporary of the later Pallavas when some of the finest bronzes of the Pallava period were being fashioned. In his *Upadeśasahasrī* (XIV, 4), Śaṅkara gives a verse as an example of the mind flowing into and taking the shape of objects comprehended by the senses:

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1 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 134.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
3 *Mānasāra*, 8, 20. 23.

mūshāsiktam yathā tāmram tannibham jāyate tathā|
rūpādīn vyāpnuvat chittam tannibham driśyate dhruvam||

The commentary of Rāmatīrtha explains it further: *mūshā antassushirā mritpratimā yathāgnisamparkāt dravībhūtam tāmram mūshāyām nishiktam sat tannibham jāyate tatsamānākriti bhavati tathā chittam api rūpādīn vishayān vyāpnuvat tannibham driśyate tadākāram jāyate ityarthaḥ*, i.e. *mūshā* is an earthen hollow mould of a figure; just as copper melted by fire and poured into a mould takes that very shape, so does the mind take the shape of the object comprehended.

It is still a living art and is practised by *sthapatis*, i.e. metalworkers, who have kept alive this ancient art both by preserving the texts relating to the mode of preparation and also the contemplative hymns or *dhyānaślokas* that describe the forms of individual icons. The text was carefully followed in the preparation, the artist took great pains to show his skill and craftsmanship and produced masterpieces that have roused the admiration of generations of connoisseurs.

The process as described in the 12th century work *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* is as follows:

navatālapramāṇena lakshaṇena samāvṛitām
pratimām kārayet pūrvam uditena vichakshaṇaḥ
sarvāvayavasampūrṇām kiñchitpītām driśoḥ priyām
yathoktair āyudhair yuktām bāhubhiścha yathoditaiḥ
tatprishṭhe skandhadeśe cha kṛikaṭyām mukuṭetha vā
kāśapushpanibham dīrgham nālakam madanodbhavam
sthāpayitvā tataśchārchām limpet samskṛitayā mṛidā
mashīm tushamayīm ghṛishṭvā kārpāsam śataśaḥ kshatam
lavaṇam chūrṇitam ślakshṇam svalpam samyojayenmṛidā
vāratrayam tadāvartya tena limpet samantataḥ
achchhas syāt prathamo lepaḥ chhāyāyām kṛitaśoshaṇaḥ
dinadvaye vyatīte tu dvitīyas syāt tataḥ punaḥ
tasmin śushke tṛitīyas tu nibiḍo lepa ishyate
nālakasya mukham tyaktvā sarvamālepayenmṛidā
śoshayet tam prayatnena yuktibhir buddhimān naraḥ
sikthakam tolayedādāvarchālagnam vichakshaṇaḥ
rītya tāmreṇa raupyena hemnā vā kārayet tu tam
sikthād ashṭaguṇam tāmram rītidravyam cha kalpayet
rajatam dvādaśaguṇam hema syāt shoḍaśottaram
mṛidā samveshṭayed dravyam yadishṭam kanakādikam
nālikerākṛitim mūshām pūrvavat pariśoshayet
vahnau pratāpitamarchāsiktham nissārayet tataḥ
mūshām pratāpayet paśchāt pāvakochchhishṭavahninā
rītistāmram cha rasatām navāṅgārair vrajed dhruvam
taptāṅgārairvinikshiptai rajatam rasatām vrajet
suvarṇam rasatām yāti pañchakṛitvaḥ pradīpitaiḥ
mūshāmūrdhani nirmāya randhram lohaśalākayā
saṁdaṁśena dṛiḍham dhṛitvā taptām mūshām samuddharet
taptārchānālakasyāsye vartim prajvalitām nyaset
saṁdaṁśena dhṛitām mūshām tāpayitvā prayatnataḥ
rasam tu nālakasyāsye kshiped achchhinnadhārayā
nālakānanaparyantam sampūrṇam viramet tataḥ
sphoṭayet tatsamīpastham pāvakam tāpaśāntaye

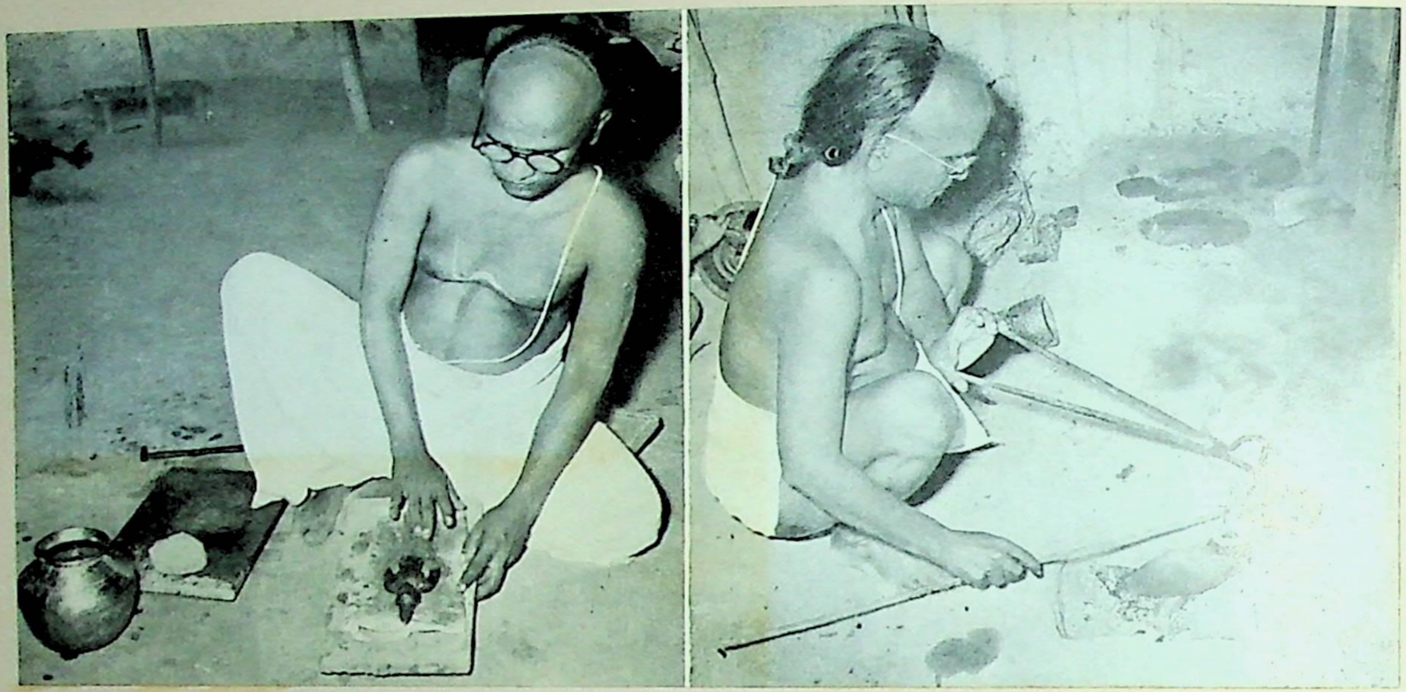


Fig. 1. (left)—Mud-coating for wax figure in the process of preparing the mould.
(right)—Pouring molten metal into the mould for casting the image.

śītalatvam cha yātāyām pratimāyām svabhāvataḥ
sphoṭayenmṛittikām dagdhām vidagdho laghuhastakaḥ
tato dravyamayī sārchā yathā madananirmitā
jāyate tādṛiśī sākshād aṅgopāṅgopaśobhitā
yatra kvāpyadhikam paśyechchāraṇaistat praśāntayet
nālakam chhedayechchāpi paschādujjvalatām nayet
anena vidhinā samyag vidhāyārchām śubhe tithau
vidhivat tām pratishṭhāpya pūjayet pratyaham nṛipaḥ

(*Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi* I, 77-97)

The image should be prepared of wax, according to the *navatāla* (nine *tāla*) measurement, light yellow in colour and beautiful to behold, with proper disposition of limbs including arms and weapons according to the iconographic texts. Long tubes, each with a flared mouth resembling the *kāśa* flower, should be added on the back, at the shoulder, on the nape, or on the crown.

The figure has then to be coated lightly with clay well prepared by adding to it charred husk, tiny bits of cotton and salt, all finely ground on a stone (Fig. 1, left). The coating has to be repeated three times, each after an interval of two days, and dried in the shade. The final coating is the most liberal one. The mouth and the channel of the tube, wherever fixed, should be left free when the coating is applied.

The weight and quantity of brass, copper, silver or gold for preparing the image is determined by the weight of the wax in the mould; brass and copper are to be eight times the weight of wax, silver twelve and gold sixteen times.

The chosen metal should be encased in clay to form a crucible of the shape of a large coconut, and then dried and heated in the fire. The mould is then heated to allow the wax in it to melt and run out.



Fig. 2. Breaking up the mould for taking out the cast metal image.



Fig. 3. Half broken mould revealing the image in metal which has replaced the wax one.

The crucible is then heated again. The heat for melting copper, silver and gold is reached in progressive order—mild embers, flaming embers and blazing embers to five times the normal heat.

A hole is made with an iron rod in the crucible, which is to be lifted up from the fire with the help of iron tongs. The molten metal is poured into the mouths left open on the mould, after cleaning them with a burning wick so that it would run in a hot stream to completely fill up the entire space within, and reach up to the mouths of the tubes (Fig. 1, right).

The fire is extinguished and the mould allowed to cool down, when the burnt earth composing the mould is carefully broken (Fig. 2) to reveal the image as originally prepared in wax (Fig. 3). The tubes and other superfluous projections are now cut and the image finished and burnished.

This in brief is the description given in the text, and in practice also it is nearly the same even now.

In the early period metal images were very carefully fashioned with all the details present in the wax model itself, and these were naturally imprinted in metal, and there was little finishing work after the casting. But in later times, up to the present day, the image as cast was usually a rough one. The final finishes were added elaborately, which involved so much of chiselling work that the result was almost a carved-out image rather than a cast one.

ICONOMETRY AND ICONOGRAPHY

The *sthapatis* have always produced their images according to prescribed measurements, and variations in height are determined by the form of the image individually or in a group. The height of Śiva dominates in a Kalyāṇasundara group while Vishṇu dominates in his own group. Female figures such as Devī, and juvenile figures such as Skanda, Bālakṛishṇa and dwarfish ones such as Gaṇeśa have their own heights. The *tāla* measurements (based on the dimensions of the face from forehead to chin) are elaborately given in the *Śilpa* texts such as the *Amśumadbhedāgama* and there are various *tāla* heights including *daśatāla* (ten times the face measurement) and sub-varieties such as *uttama* (superior order of *tāla*), *madhyama* (middling order of *tāla*) and *adhama* (lower order of *tāla*) prescribed for different deities. *Navatāla*, *ashṭatāla*, *saptatāla*, *shaṭtāla*, *pañchatāla* (nine, eight, seven, six, five) and so forth up to *ekatāla* (single *tāla* measurement) are all described.

The *tāla* is composed of smaller units and the smallest is *paramāṇu*. Eight *paramāṇus* make a *trasareṇu*; and multiplied eight times a *trasareṇu*, *valagra*, *liksha*, *yūka* and *yava* follow the next in order; while the *aṅgula*, composed of eight *yavas*, has higher denominations which make up a *tāla*. The whole body of a figure is conceived in terms of nine *tālas*. The head is one *tāla*, the neck four *aṅgulas*, the torso three *tālas*, the legs four *tālas* and six *aṅgulas*.

There are elaborate measurements, vertical, horizontal and also indicating the depth of the image. The five *sthānas* or positions are known as *ṛiju*, *ardharju*, *sāchi*, *ardhākshi*, and *bhittika*. These represent front, three-quarters and side-view from five angles. The central plumb line or *brahmasūtra* and side line or *pakshasūtra* and the variation in distance between them determine the five positions mentioned. The lines such as *mastakasūtra*, *nāsāgrasūtra*, *adharoshṭhasūtra*, *hikkāsūtra*, *vakshasthalasūtra*, *nābhisūtra*, *kāñchīpadasūtra*, *ūrusūtra*, *jānvadhassūtra*, *gulphāntasūtra*, and *bhūmisūtra* show where the lines touch and cut the vertical line giving the height of the image (Fig. 4). Iconometry has thus an important bearing in the production of images.

The disposition of the limbs in various attitudes and poses distinguishes the various forms of figures, and so also do the weapons and other objects in the hands of deities, as well as the stances in which figures are presented. All these together go to make up the intricate text of iconography that differentiates one form of the same deity from another by these characteristics.

The disposition of the hands, the look in the eyes, the movement of the body, even the sway of the hands and legs indicate different *bhāvas* or moods in dance; the same is found also in painting or sculpture. As the *Vishṇudharmottara* clearly points out, *nṛittam chitram param matam: chitra* (painting) or sculpture is only another form of *nāṭya* (dance). So *śilpa* or art and *nāṭya* are closely related.

There is infinite grace in the poise and flexion of figures thus giving a *nāṭya* background to the iconographic concept. *Nāṭyasthānas* (major dance poses) are also freely used in sculpture and some of them are specially glorified. It is not only the *sthānas* (poses), *karaṇas* (dance poses) and *aṅgahāras* (bodily gyrations in a dance pose) from *nāṭya* that have been chosen but also the *hastas* (gestures of hands) which are as suggestive in art as in dance. The *hastas*, both *samyuta* (both hands) and *asamyuta* (one hand) in *abhinaya* (gesticulation), along with the gyrations of the body and facial moods convey in mute eloquence a language unexpressed in sounds but expressed

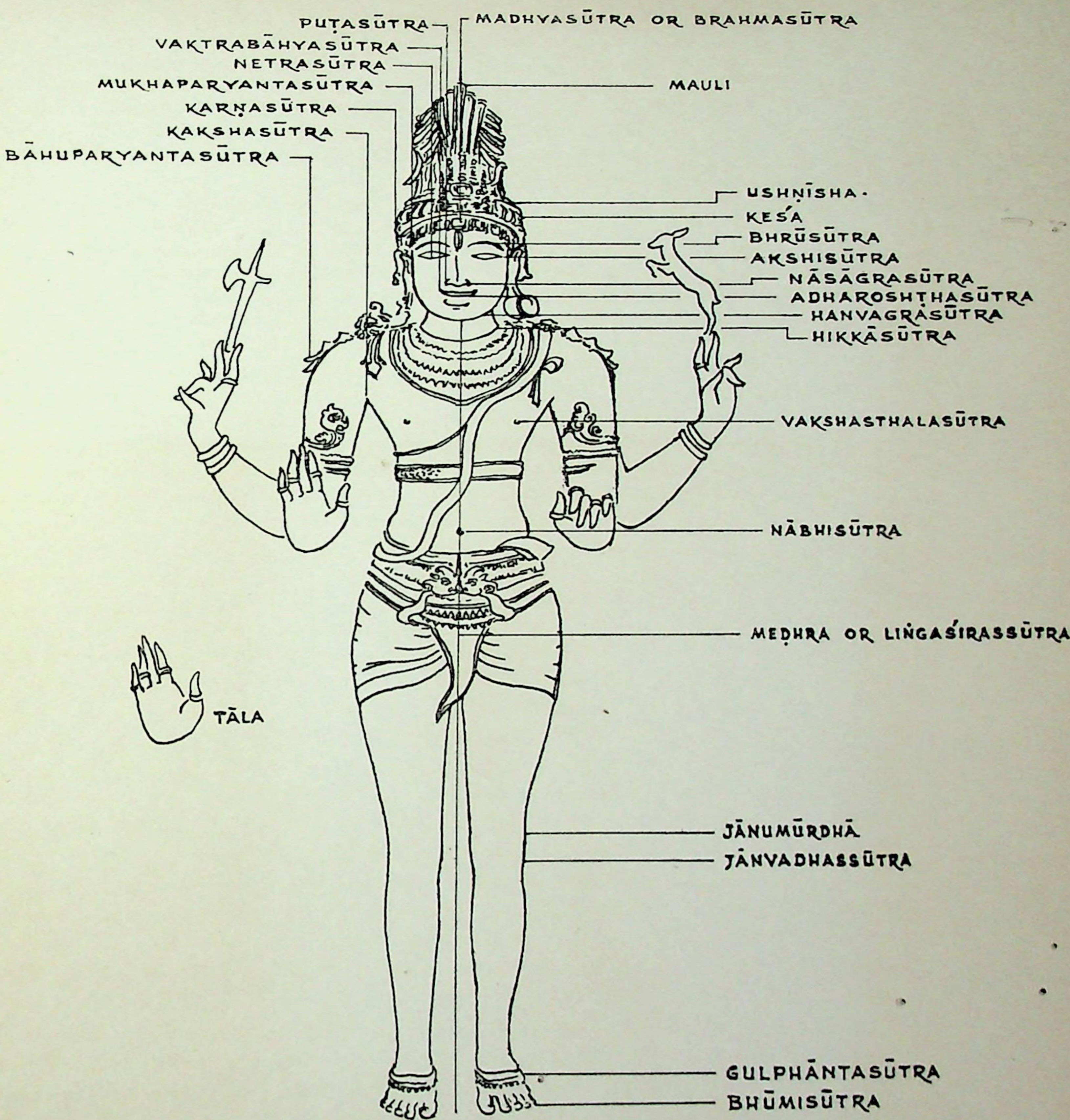


Fig. 4. *Tālamāna* and *sūtras* composing a figure.



a b c d e

Fig. 5. (a) *Abhaya*; (b) *varada*; (c) *ahūya varada*; (d) *kaṭakāmukha*; (e) *kartarīmukha*.

suggestively for ocular reception, and this language is also found happily assimilated in the fine arts.

There is, however, a little restraint in the use of *hastas* in sculpture and painting. These are known as *mudrās* when they have some religious significance, as for instance the *vyākhyānamudrā* or the *chinmudrā* of Dakshiṇāmūrti, which respectively indicate the teaching attitude or the coming together of the *jīvātmā* (individual soul) and *paramātmā* (soul infinite).

Of the hands or *hastas* of images the most common is *abhaya*—the attitude of protection (Fig. 5a). Others are *varada*, boon-conferring (Fig. 5b); *ahūya varada*, inviting to confer boons (Fig. 5c); *kaṭakāmukha* or *simhakarṇa* for holding an object like a lotus or lily (Fig. 5d); *kartarīmukha*, a pair of scissors for holding weapons between the pointing and middle fingers (Fig. 5e); *kaṭyavalambita*, hanging below the waist (Fig. 6a); *lola*, hanging free (Fig. 6b).

Somewhat rare are *hastas* such as *sūchī* or *tarjanī* (Fig. 6c), *vismaya* (Fig. 6d), *chinmudrā*, *vyākhyānamudrā* (Fig. 6e), and *dhyānamudrā*, suggesting respectively, threatening, wonder, exposition and contemplation. Specially associated with Buddha images is *dhyāna*, contemplation; *bhūsparśa*, earth-touching; and *dharmachakra-pravartanamudrā*, turning the Wheel of Law. In the case of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, it is the *dhyānamudrā* and the pose of *kāyotsarga*, wherein the two hands are straight, that usually occur.

Among *samyuta hastas* or two hands coming together, the most common is the *añjali* or salute (Fig. 7a), usual in the case of *bhaktas*, Nandikeśvara, Garuḍa, Chaṇḍikeśvara and others. The *hastasvastika* or the hands crossed occurs sometimes to suggest devotion and *pādasvastika* or the crossing of the legs is a common feature in Veṇugopāla images.

Daṇḍahasta or *karihasta* (Fig. 7b) occurs as a hand held straight as a rod in representations of Naṭarāja, while the *ardha-chandrahasta* is for holding fire (Fig. 7c).

In the case of *sthāna* (standing) figures, the normal position is *samapada*, or standing erect with the feet close together. A slight flexion resulting in deviation from the straight plumb line gives the *ābhaṅga* to the figure. If there are two prominent flexions, the figure is said to be in *dvibhaṅga*. A triple flexion is known as *tribhaṅga*. A dynamic figure pronouncedly flexed is said to be in *atibhaṅga*. For the seated figures the usual *āsanas* are *sukhāsana*, *yogāsana*, *ardhayogāsana*, *padmāsana*, *vīrāsana*, *utkuṭikāsana*. A *yogapaṭṭa* is usually indicated in the case of *yogāsana* as for Yoganarasiṁha and Yogadakshiṇāmūrti. The *yogapaṭṭa* wound around one knee is called *ardhayogapaṭṭa* and when it encircles both knees it is termed *yogapaṭṭa*.

In the case of some Buddhist figures such as Siṁhanāda, there is what is known as the *mahārājalīlā* pose (Pl. 14c), the hand in *daṇḍa* attitude usually resting on the knee. *Ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha*

poses are indicated in the case of some Buddhist figures such as Mārīchī, Parṇaśavarī Vighnāntaka. Other common poses are *lalitāsana*, *paryaṅkāsana*, *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, *vajraparyaṅkāsana*.

Images are recognised by these *hastas* and *sthānas* and other peculiar iconographic characteristics associated with individual concepts and deities. There are also broad classifications of deities into *anugrahamūrtis* or the boon-conferring forms, *samhāramūrtis* or the forms of the deity personating the destroyer, *nṛittamūrtis* or the dancing forms, and *vaivāhikamūrtis* or the deity in matrimonial attire and so forth.

In the case of Hindu deities, their iconography is briefly as follows. The Trinity comprises Brahmā, Śiva and Vishṇu. (1) Brahmā has few representations in metal and the most famous is a large Gupta masterpiece now in the Karachi Museum. (2) Śiva has several forms. The most common are Sukhāsana, Umāsahita, Umāmaheśvara, Somāskanda, Dakshiṇāmūrti, Vishāpaharaṇa, Vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇāmūrti, Yogadakshiṇāmūrti, Naṭarāja, Kālāri, Bhairava, Kaṅkālamūrti, Bhikshāṭanamūrti, Tripurāntaka, Kirātamūrti, Gaṅgādhara, Vṛishavāhana, Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, Vīrabhadra, Kalyāṇasundara and Gajāntaka. (3) Vishṇu is shown in three distinct attitudes, *śayana*, *sthāna* and *āsana*, i.e. reclining, standing and seated. Śeshaśāyi, Raṅganātha and Padmanābha are in the reclining attitude. Śrīnivāsa, Varadarāja, the 24 forms of Vishṇu such as Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛishīkeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara etc., are all *sthāna* forms. Of these, Vāsudeva is a favourite one in the south and Trivikrama in the north for representing Vishṇu.

Of the ten *avatāras* such as Matsya, Kūrma etc., actual representations in metal start from Varāha onwards. Varāha is depicted both as Bhūvarāha and Lakshmīvarāha; Narasiṁha in different attitudes, principally as Kevalanarasiṁha, Yoganarasiṁha, Lakshmīnarasiṁha and Sthauṇanarasiṁha; Rāma, in a group composed of Sītā, Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Hanumān; and Kṛishṇa in different attitudes such as Bālakṛishṇa, Yaśodā-Kṛishṇa, Navanītakṛishṇa, Kālīya-Kṛishṇa and Kṛishṇa with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā. Vāmana is also depicted.

Among Devīs, Pārvatī has her benign forms both seated and standing, sometimes with four hands and sometimes with two, and her terrific forms are seen as Kālī, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Chāmuṇḍā, Durgā and so forth.

Among the minor deities, there are the various attitudes of Gaṇeśa, seated, standing and dancing, generally without but occasionally with consort; while Skanda or Subrahmaṇya, as he is known in the south, is seen in various forms such as the baby Skanda in the Somāskanda group, Devasenāpati, Subrahmaṇya

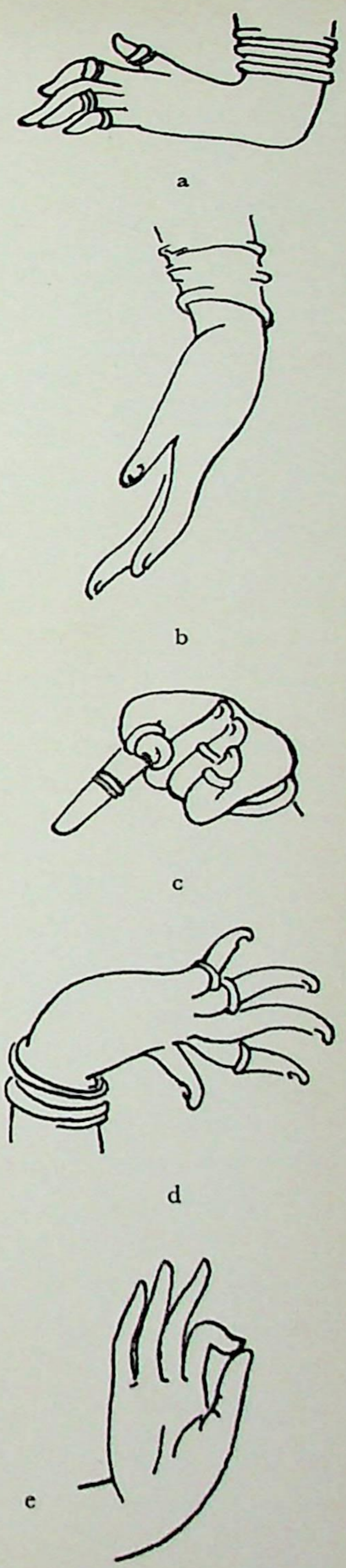
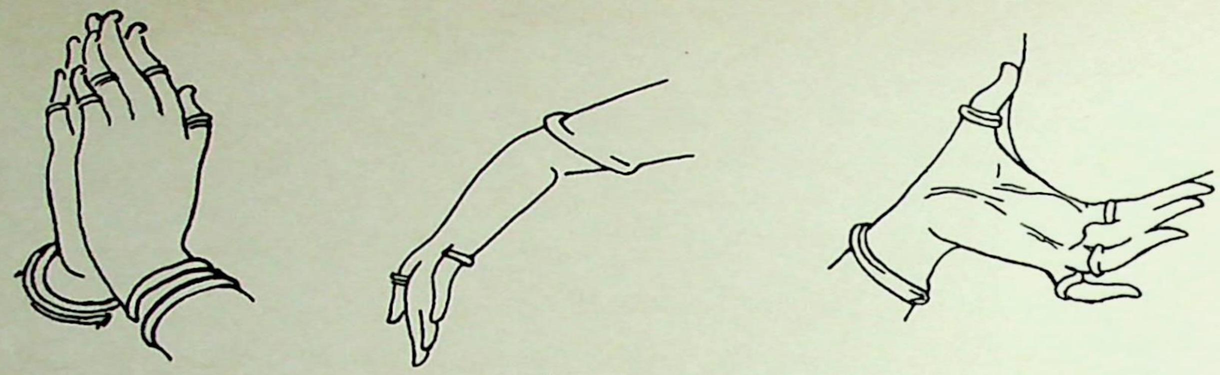


Fig. 6. (a) *Kaṭyavalambita*; (b) *lola*; (c) *sūchi*; (d) *vismaya*; (e) *vyākhyāṇamudrā*.



a b c

Fig. 7. (a) *Añjali*; (b) *daṇḍahasta*; (c) *ardhachandra*.

with Vallī and Devasenā (the former consort peculiar to the South), Shaṇmukha, Śikhivāhana or Mayūravāhana, Gurumūrti or Brahmaśāstā and so forth.

Hariharaputra or Aiyanār, as son of Śiva and Vishṇu (in female form), is a deity peculiar to the South. Jyesṭhā, the goddess of sloth, ceased to be a deity after the 10th century A.D. Corresponding to Aiyanār in the south is Revanta in the north, though he is the son of Sūrya. Manmatha, the son of Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa, who had a place in the *chaturvyūha* of Vishṇu and was worshipped specially in ancient India, has now no special representation either in the north or in the south. Vasishṭha, the son of Brahmā, has an occasional representation in sculpture but it is Agastya of the seven *ṛishis* that is more popular and a well-known bronze representing him is from Vedāraṇyam. The planets, nine in number, are Sūrya, Chandra, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu; while the Dikpālas are eight—Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛiti, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera and Īśa.

The *bhaktas* of Śiva and Vishṇu, known respectively as Nāyanmārs and Āḻvārs, have their portraits in metal; and so also the vehicles such as Garuḍa and Nandi, and the personified weapons of the deities such as *śūla*, *chakra* and *gadā*.

The images of the Buddhist pantheon are mainly of three categories: Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Tārās. The main Buddhas, apart from Ādi Buddha or Vajradhara, are five, and these are known as Dhyānī Buddhas, all of them seated, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Vairochana and Akshobhya, corresponding to the position of the hands in *dhyāna* or *samādhi*, *abhaya*, *varada*, *dharmachakramudrā* and *bhūsparśa*. The standing Buddha is generally shown with the garment covering either one shoulder or less often both, and with the right hand in *abhaya*, the left holding the hem of the garment.

The Buddha in reclining attitude is shown in the *parinirvāṇa* scene. Other forms of the Buddha are the Buddha's descent from heaven at Saṅkisa attended by Śakra and Brahmā, Buddha subduing Nalagiri, receiving honey from the monkey at Vaiśālī, preaching at Sārnāth (indicated by the wheel flanked by deer at his feet), and his birth in the Lumbinī garden.

The Bodhisattvas are mainly Padmapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Viśvapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi and Ghaṇṭāpāṇi, corresponding to the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Emanating from the Dhyānī Buddhas are various forms that make up the different Avalokiteśvaras and Lokeśvaras of the groups. The Mañjuśrī group has Arapachana as an important form and several others such as Mañjughosha, Mañjuvara, Vāgīśvara.

Avalokiteśvara forms are many including among others Lokanātha, Siṁhanāda on a lion, and Khasarpaṇa accompanied by four companions, i.e. Sudhanakumāra, Tārā, Hayagrīva and

Bhṛikuṭi. Shaḍaksharī Lokeśvara is a group of three composed of Maṇidhara, Shaḍaksharī Lokeśvara and Shaḍaksharī Mahāvidyā.

There are many forms of Tārās distinguished by their iconography, such as Āryatārā, Varadatārā, Vaśyatārā, Jāṅgulī and Parṇaśavarī. As distinguished by her colour she is green, blue, red, white or yellow. An important form is Khadiravanī Tārā accompanied by her companions Aśokakāntā, Mārīchī and Ekajaṭā. Similarly important is Vajratārā.

Maitreya, the future Buddha, Jambhala, the god of wealth; Vasudhārā; Aparājita Sitātapatrā; Mārichī; Mahapratisarā and other gods and goddesses too numerous to mention swell the number of the Buddhist pantheon, which is as formidable as the Hindu one.

The Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras are twenty-four in number, represented either seated in *dhyāna* or standing and distinguished one from another, only by their individual cognizances, the tree or *dīkshāvṛiksha* and other emblems which are often not very clear in sculpture. The exception is Ādinātha, who in addition is distinguished by his *jaṭās*. The bull is the cognizance of Ādinātha, who is known also as Ṛishabhadeva, the elephant for Ajitanātha, the horse for Sambhavanātha, the monkey for Abhinandana, the wheel or curlew for Sumatinātha, the lotus for Padmaprabha, the *svastika* for Supārśvanātha, the moon for Chandraprabha, the *makara* for Suvidhinātha, the *śrīvṛiksha* for Śītalanātha, the rhinoceros for Śreyāṁśanātha, the buffalo for Vasupūjya, the boar for Vimalanātha, the falcon for Anantanātha, the *vajra* for Dharmanātha, the deer for Śāntinātha, the goat for Kunthunātha, the fish for Aranātha, the water pot for Mallinātha, the tortoise for Munisuvrata, the lily for Naminātha, the conch for Neminātha, the snake for Pārśvanātha and the lion for Mahāvīra. The snake's coils and the hoods over the head of the Tīrthaṅkara are additional distinguishing marks in the case of Supārśvanātha and Pārśvanātha, the number of hoods differing in either case. The *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs* associated with each Tīrthaṅkara make up a regular host of deities associated with the Jaina faith and in addition there is the representation of Bāhubali, the saintly son of the first Tīrthaṅkara, who is also called Gomateśvara.

ORNAMENTATION AND DRESS

The dating of South Indian bronzes is removed from the realm of speculation when we take into consideration distinguishing characteristics which are seen from time to time in the long course of history, illuminated or dimmed by the advent, disappearance, and the commingling or subordination of various dynasties. These characteristics carefully studied and tabulated give a reasonably clear indication of time sequence, and are often corroborated by the palaeography and substance of inscriptions that occasionally come to our assistance in fixing dates.

Facial features and the contours of the figures, particularly of the torso in different periods, also give a clue to their dates (Figs. 8a, b and 9a, b, c).

Headgear (Jaṭāmakuṭa). Śiva and Brahmā usually wear *jaṭāmakuṭa*, and sometimes Pārvatī and Aiyanār as well. The *jaṭāmakuṭa*, in its earlier phases, is characterised by its rather elongate and simple shape. The *jaṭās* are not individually marked in schematic fashion with almost symmetrical arrangement on both sides, as in later times. The *dhattūra* flower, skull and moon are present, but are not as obvious as in later times, particularly the moon. The simple, elongate, though not too tall, *jaṭā* continues throughout the Pallava period. The Pallava *jaṭāmakuṭa* has a heavy roll round the head immediately over the forehead, which acts as a base, while the rest of the *jaṭā* forms a kind of crown. This type of *jaṭāmakuṭa* has an affinity to the *makuṭa* seen in the stone sculpture of the Pallava period, as we find it in the Śrīlakshmī of the Varāha cave at Mahābalipuram. In the Choḷa period, the *jaṭā* becomes more schematic, though it still retains its attractive form. The moon is very prominent in the Choḷa *jaṭāmakuṭa*.

In the late Choḷa and Vijayanagara periods, the normal *jaṭāmakuṭa* of Śiva is long and stylised, with the *jaṭās* arranged symmetrically. As compared to the early mode, it is mechanical in arrangement and the *jaṭās* can be counted.

The jaṭās of Naṭeśa. The outstretched swirling *jaṭās* of Naṭeśa, in addition to his *jaṭāmakuṭa*, appear rather late in the early Choḷa period. They are absent in Pallava icons such as the ones from Kūram (Pl. 7b and c) and Nallūr (Pl. 9). They are also absent in the very early Choḷa image from Tiruvaraṅguḷam (Pl. 16). They appear almost invariably in the case of all Naṭeśas with *prabhā*, though they are absent in the simple type of the Melaperumbaḷḷam Naṭeśa (Pl. 28b) from the Madras Government Museum, of which another example is in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery. The Puṅganūr Naṭeśa (Pl. 28a), though without a *prabhā*, has this type of *jaṭās*.

As regards the arrangement of these *jaṭās*, the plainest and most closely knit *jaṭās* are those seen in the Naṭeśa from the Colombo Museum, which is somewhat late in date. The normal arrangement in the early phase is seen in the Velānkaṇṇi figure (Pl. 27b), where the ends of the *jaṭās* are not as curled up as in later figures. But about the end of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century, the topmost pair of *jaṭā* locks or the next below them are so combined as to almost form a loop at either end. Flowers arranged in vertical rows at regular intervals between the meandering horizontal *jaṭās* make a long net-like arrangement on which the river Gaṅgā is placed towards the right in anthropomorphic form as a mermaid, while in later images the crescent moon appears to the left. The loop-end arrangement of top *jaṭās* is characteristic in the Naṭeśas from Śīyāḷī (Pl. 27a), Konerirājapuram and Kunnāṇḍārkoil (Pl. 26), in the recently acquired Naṭeśas in the Madras Government Museum, the image from Paṭṭīśvaram in the

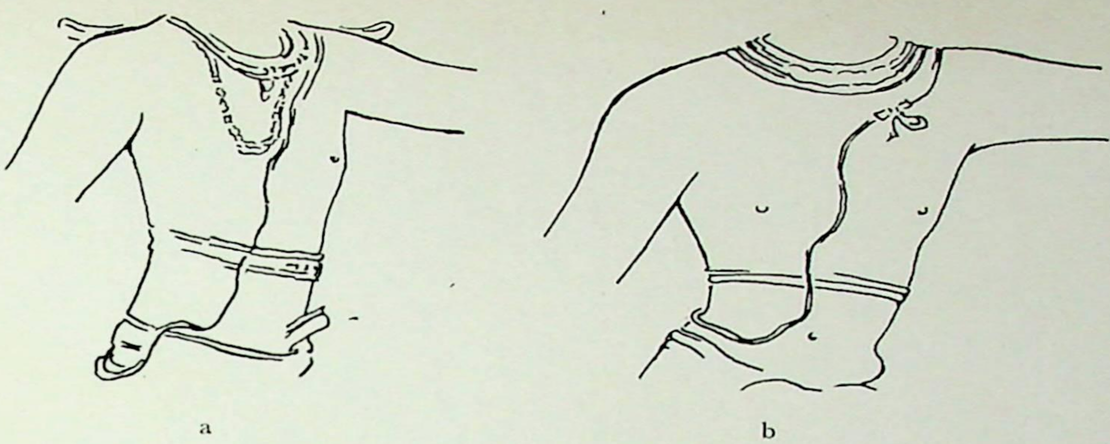


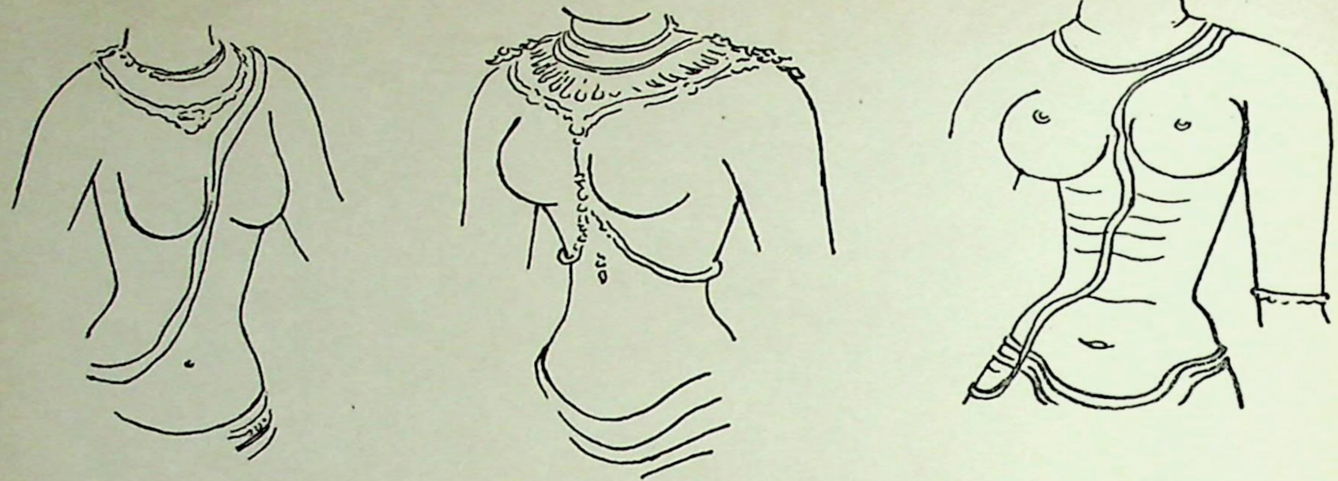
Fig. 8. Anatomy of male torso: (a) Pallava; (b) Choḷa.

Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, the larger Naṭeśa of the National Museum of India, the Naṭeśa from Amsterdam (Pl. 69b), and the image from the Musée Guimet, Paris.

Jaṭābhāra. The *jaṭābhāra* of Dakshiṇāmūrti or Bhikshāṭana in the Pallava and very early Choḷa period is in the form of a cluster of curls and ringlets, as can be seen in a stone sculpture (Fig. 10). Pallava bronzes of these icons are not known. But later in the Choḷa period, the *jaṭābhāra* has a more schematic arrangement of hair, almost circular in shape, all around the head, with the tips curling towards the end and forming a border of curling ringlets. A fine example of this arrangement is seen in the *jaṭābhāra* of Gajāntaka from Vaḻuvūr (Pl. 92b) and Bhikshāṭana from Bhikshaṇḍārkoil.

Jvālākeśa or Flaming Hair. This arrangement of the hair, with a double-serpent taking the place of the double *makara* motif, a skull in place of the central gem, and with other Śiva appurtenances such as the crescent moon and the *dhattūra* flower against the background of the flaming hair arranged to simulate the contour of the *pīpal* leaf, is specially associated with Kālī, Māheśvarī, Mahishamardinī and Bhairava (Fig. 12). Examples of the *jvālākeśa* are seen in the Kālī images from the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 48b), the National Museum of India, and the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 72a); Māheśvarī images from the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 47a), and from the Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad (Pl. 48a); Mahishamardinī of the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 50) and Bhairava images from the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 52b) and Musée Guimet, Paris. In the Choḷa period, the hair is arranged in a pleasing and natural fashion and the flames look like spikes of fire enveloping the head. But in the Vijayanagara and later periods the hair becomes stylised.

Kirīṭamakuṭa. Vishṇu's crown, which is based on the earlier type of Śakra's *kirīṭa*, is quite elongate in the Pallava period and continues this shape right through. The earlier short cylindrical *kirīṭa* of Śakra, as seen in Sātavāhana, Kushāṇa and Gandhāra sculptures at Amarāvatī, Mathurā and Taxila respectively, is transformed into a long cylindrical type unlike the cone-shaped *kirīṭas* of other deities. Towards the end of the Pallava period, this *kirīṭa* becomes decorative with check patterns worked in and studded with small flower designs, giving it a picturesque appearance. The *makara*, which right from the Pallava period has been a feature in the case of the *makuṭa*, adds charm to this decorative element. It is styled *makarakūṭa* in the front, *patrakūṭa* at the sides and *ratnakūṭa* at the back. The cylindrical *kirīṭamakuṭa* continues in the Choḷa period also, as can be seen in the Vishṇu from Peruntoṭṭam. But it tends to become slightly more conical, though



a b c

Fig. 9. Anatomy of female torso: (a) Pallava; (b) Choḷa; (c) Vijayanagara.

retaining its essentially cylindrical shape. This may be noted in the early Choḷa Śrīnivāsa from Sirupaṇayūr (Pl. 42b).

In the late Choḷa and Vijayanagara representations of Vishṇu, the cylindrical shape continues and no *karaṇḍas* (pots) appear to make it a *karaṇḍamakuṭa*. Though the original cylindrical type persists right through the centuries, it slowly becomes slightly conical with a little flaring up of the coni-cylinder towards the top, where it has a bud-shaped tip on a bulbous cushion.

Karaṇḍamakuṭa. The crown of Devī, particularly in the Pallava period, is either (a) a simple conical headgear with a thick roll-like wreath encircling the cone at the bottom, or (b) the more common type of *karaṇḍamakuṭa*, but rather diminutive in size and decorated with gems and pearls. A good example of this type can be seen in the crown of Pārvatī in the Somāskanda group from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Pl. 13a) or in that of Devī from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Pl. 58a and b), or the Devī from the Bhedwar collection (59b).

The *karaṇḍamakuṭa* begins to become common from the early Choḷa period, but the *karaṇḍa* element is rather restrained in the earlier stages and is noticed only towards the top of the *kirīṭa*



Fig. 12. Flaming hair.



Fig. 10. *Jaṭābhāra.*



a b c

Fig. 11. Form of crown: (a) Pallava; (b) Choḷa; (c) Vijayanagara.



a b c d

Fig. 13. *Makuṭa* (crown): (a) *Karaṇḍa-makuṭa*—Early Choḷa; (b) *ratna-makuṭa*—Western Chāḷukya (Hoysaḷa); *dhammilla* (ornamental coiffure): (c) Early Choḷa; (d) Western Chāḷukya (Noḷamba).

(Figs. 11a, 11b and 13a). The number of *karaṇḍas* is also restricted. In later periods, however, the *karaṇḍas* become prominent and increase in number (Fig. 11c). The corresponding *makuṭa* in Chāḷukya sculpture is ornate and gem-decked, obscuring the *karaṇḍa* element (Fig. 13b).

Keśabandha. This is found to take the place of a *jaṭāmakuṭa* in the case of certain juvenile and female figures such as Bālakṛishṇa, Bālasubrahmaṇya, Jñānasambandhar, Āṇḍāl, Rukmiṇī, and portraits of queens and princesses (Fig. 13c).

Dhammilla. The *dhammilla* becomes a characteristic of Choḷa images, and this attractive coiffure is seen at its best in the Sītā from the Rāma group from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Fig. 41), where it is fashioned most artistically and is flower-bedecked. The *bhramarakas* or short curls are arranged on the forehead and the *dhammilla,* composed of rolled hair, is wound into a circular shape. Not infrequently the *dhammilla* is tied with a ribbon-like band centrally across (Fig. 13c).

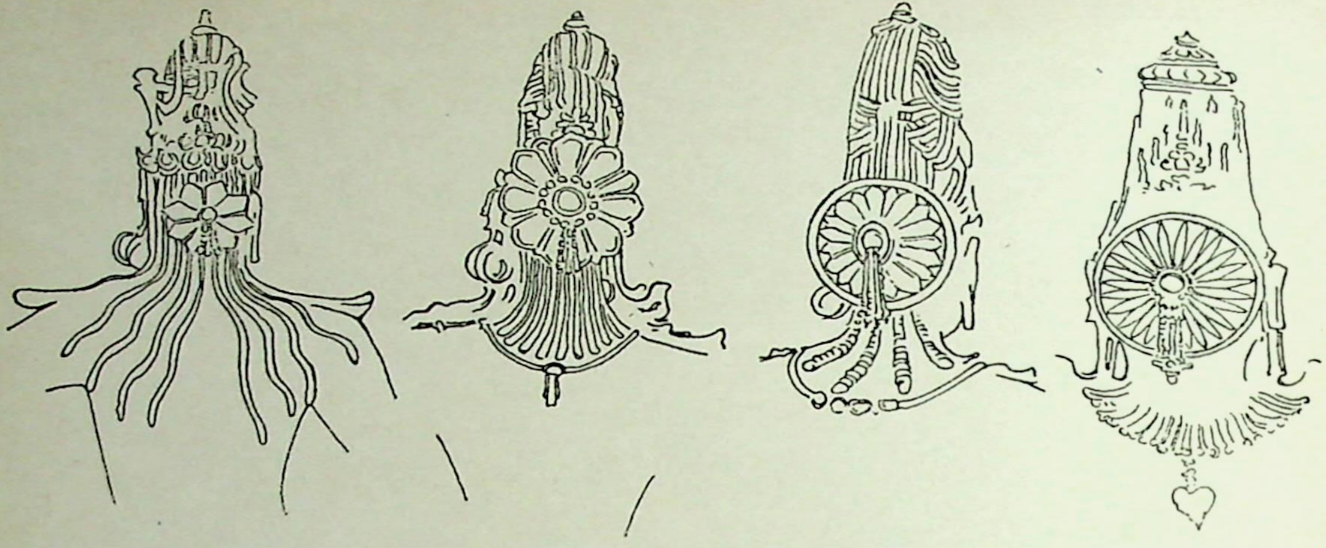
The bands decorating the *dhammilla* are of three varieties, viz., *pushpapaṭṭa,* composed of flowers, *patrapaṭṭa,* composed of leaves and *ratnapaṭṭa,* which is a jewelled golden band. All three varieties are present in sculpture.

In the late Choḷa period, this is further elaborated and the end of this twisted *veṇī* wound into a circle is allowed to dangle a little, while the tassels and usual decorations in addition to flowers give added charm, as in the case of the arrangement of the coiffure of Annapūrṇā (Pl. 66a-b) from the Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

The main difference between the Choḷa and the Chāḷukya *dhammilla* is that the latter is overloaded with oblique rows of pearl-string decorations and *bhramaraka* curls, as in Captain Jones' bronze of a goddess (Fig. 13d), now acquired by the British Museum.

Śiraśchakra. The *śiraśchakra* originates from the large halo that originally used to decorate the head of a deity as a circular illumination from behind. The simple early halo seen at Mathurā and Amarāvatī became a more elaborate, lotus-petal bedecked, decorative appendage in the Gupta and Vākāṭaka period respectively in the north and the Deccan. The halo slowly became rather diminutive, and in the Pallava period it became so small that it ceased to be visible from the front. The lotus petal decoration on the front around the head being now impossible in contrast to the halos of the earlier Buddhas, this form of decoration could only be shown on the back of the small *śiraśchakra.*

In the Pallava period, the *śiraśchakra* is a simple lotus pattern with about eight petals and from the central hub dangle a few tassels (Fig. 14a). An example of this is seen in the case of



a b c d

Fig. 14. *Śiraśchakra:* (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa; (c) Choḷa; (d) Late Choḷa Vijayanagara.

Tripurāntaka in the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 8b). This type continues even in the Pallava-Choḷa transitional period, as also in the earlier Choḷa period. It may be noticed in the case of Naṭeśa from Tiruvaraṅguḷam (Pl. 16), where the interspaces between the lotus petals and the bead border around the hub show a tendency towards elaboration (Fig. 14b). This elaboration becomes more pronounced gradually in the early Choḷa period where the number of petals increases, a circular rim is added as a border all around the petals and the tassels from the hub become longer and more conspicuous (Fig. 14c and d). An example of this is seen in the large Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara, now in the Bhedwar collection (Fig. 14c).

The arrangement of *jaṭās* below the *śiraśchakra* in the case of Śiva is quite elaborate in the Pallava period and eight or ten long sinewy *jaṭās* flow over the back, as in the case of the Tripurāntaka mentioned above (Fig. 14a). The *jaṭās* become shorter and almost barricaded by the string of the necklace in a later period as in the case of the Naṭeśa and Kalyāṇasundara described above (Figs. 14b and c). In the last mentioned, the *jaṭās* are only four or five, as they slowly diminish in number. Thereafter they increase again (Fig. 14d).

In the late Choḷa period, these *jaṭās* increase in number, and are very close to each other, forming as it were a close semi-circular arrangement of coil-shaped locks of hair (Fig. 14d). The string of the necklace seen on the back almost as a border beyond the ends of the *jaṭās* is now covered by the *jaṭās*, though the single chain dangling from its centre is clearly seen with a locket shaped like a banyan leaf as its terminal.

Ear Ornaments. In the Pallava and early Choḷa periods there is an absence of ear ornaments, except one or two small golden beads or drops attached on one of two parts of the lobe. This fashion continues even in later periods, but only occasionally, and rather as a survival than as a regular feature.

In Pallava and early Choḷa sculpture the ear is depicted naturally without any decoration covering it (Fig. 15a, b), except in the case of a few Naṭeśas, such as the famous one from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu where a chain of pearls encircles the upper part of the ear. In the late Choḷa period there are long tassel-like decorations covering the ear half way and making a thicker contour for that portion of the ear (Fig. 15c). This decoration is further elaborated at times and extends

to meet the curled snout of the *makara*-shaped earrings of the image. On the top of the tassels and just above the ear is a flower with a central knob surrounded by petals (Fig. 15d). This last mentioned feature, which occurs towards the end of the late Choḷa period, continues in Vijayanagara and modern times.

It is a convention in *pūjā* to reverentially place on the ear as a decoration the *pūjā nirmālya* flowers after worship. The decoration of the ear with flowers is not unknown in early sculpture, but when it appears it is only for a special decorative effect. Kālidāsa mentions that tender shoots placed on the ear of the beloved madden the heart of the lover *(kisalayaprasavopi vilāsinām madayitā dayitāśravaṇārpitaḥ)*, and there is a painting at Ajanta showing a damsel with this flower decoration on the ear. But normally it is absent in all early sculpture. In the bronzes, it is noticed only at the end of the Choḷa and the beginning of the Vijayanagara period, and is not restricted to one ear but is present on both.

Kuṇḍalas. The *kuṇḍalas* on the ears of deities are varied. In Pallava images, the *kuṇḍalas* chosen by the sculptor, in addition to the *patra* and *makara* types, are ovoid and pot-shaped. An example may be seen on the ears of Hanumān of the Vaḍakkupaṇayūr group (Pl. 41b). This is a survival in the Choḷa period of what was a favourite in the early Pallava period and which slowly made way for the *makara* type. The *makara* in the earlier phases, i.e. Pallava and Choḷa periods, is rather stubby and only in the later period the snout of the *makara* becomes elongate and more stylised. Wherever the details of the *makara* in the earlier phases are not well defined, it has the appearance of a *siṁhakuṇḍala*. The tassels projecting from the mouth of the *makara* separately touch the shoulder. Large circular earrings are more a feature of Chāḷukya art and are seen in the Chimakurti Veṇugopāla groups. Such *kuṇḍalas* occur on the ears of Yaśodā in the small late Choḷa Yaśodā-Kṛishṇas from the Madras Government Museum. This can be accounted for by the Chāḷukya-Choḷa relationship in the 11th century and the Orissan cultural inflow in the Eastern Chāḷukya area.

Amongst the varieties of the *patrakuṇḍalas* sometimes the *śaṅkhapatra* showing the spiral of the cut-conch is clear in the shape of the ornament, but in the large *patra*, which is a thin circular strip, it is the large *tālapatra* or *dantapatra* which is so prepared. The *ratnakuṇḍalas* or gem-set circular *kuṇḍalas* are very rare and occur in later wood carvings and bronzes from Kerala.

The *pretakuṇḍala* is particularly associated with Kāli in her fierce aspect. But this feature is observed only in late Pallava and early Choḷa representations of Kālī. The *preta* or corpse as *kuṇḍala* is shown hanging from one of the ears in the image of the seated Kālī from the Madras Government Museum collection (Pl. 48b and Fig. 18). The circular *kuṇḍala* on the other ear has an owl in the centre.



a



b



c



d

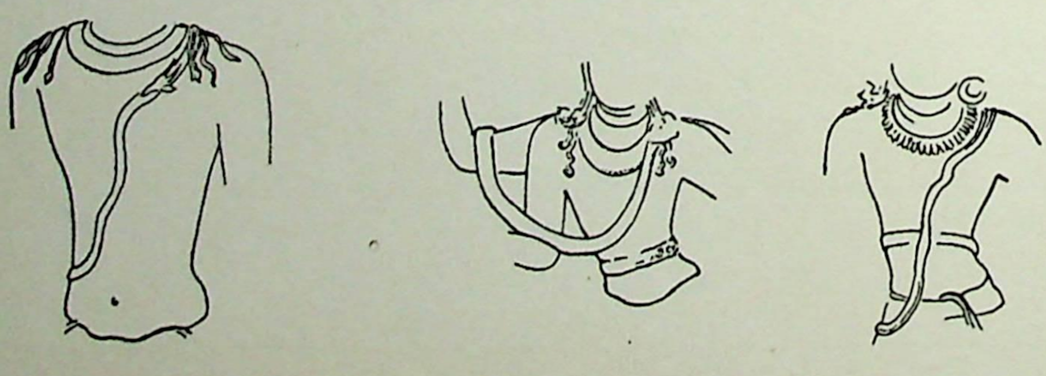
Fig. 15. Ear ornaments: (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa; (c) Late Choḷa; (d) Vijayanagara.

Yajñopavīta. *The yajñopavīta* or the sacred thread is a very important ornament of the deity. The *vastrayajñopavīta* and *kṛishṇājina* are of rare occurrence, the former being associated with Brahmā and Dakshiṇāmūrti but not invariably. The *kṛishṇājina* is seen in the Choḷa Avalokiteśvara from Kadiri (Pl. 63a and Fig. 16a). The *yajñopavīta* is broad and ribbon-like in Pallava sculptures and flows either in the normal way under the arm touching the waist, or falls over the right arm, a characteristic noticed in Pallava (Fig. 16b) and Chāḷukya figures. The *yajñopavīta* has a double-bell clasp with the ribbon forming a loop and the ribbon ends hanging down like tassels (Fig. 17a). In the early Choḷa period, this ribbon-shape and the clasp continue but slowly the *yajñopavīta* becomes a little sinewy (Fig. 16c). Thin strands separate from the ribbon and flow a little above or below the central band though the *yajñopavīta* continues downwards touching the *udarabandha* and the *kaṭi* or waist zone (Fig. 17b). In Pallava sculptures the strand to the left of the figure drops down straight and disappears under the lower garment, but appears again encircling the ankle and then, rising up from inside the garment, is seen again on the back above the waist zone where it rejoins the main stream of the *yajñopavīta*. This is noticed in all Pallava Vishṇus (Pl. 12a) and the Maitreya from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam (Pl. 12b and c). In the late Choḷa period, the strands multiply and the clasp loses the definite double-bell shape, forming instead a short series of packed, thick rings though still with the loop and tassels of the fastening (Fig. 17c). In the Vijayanagara period, the sinewy contour of the central and subsidiary strands of the *yajñopavīta* give a strange appearance on the torso, mainly on the stomach right over the *udarabandha*, while the clasp appears like a single ring through which the *yajñopavīta* passes to spread into strands just below the necklet (Fig. 17d).

The *yajñopavīta* of Kālī, Chāmuṇḍā and Bhairava of early Choḷa date is composed of skulls—*kapālayajñopavīta* (Fig. 18).

Skandhamālā (Shoulder tassels). In the earliest sculptures, Pallava or Choḷa, no tassels appear on the shoulders (Fig. 17a). But soon towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century tassels appear, though only on the right shoulder (Fig. 17b). At first these tassels consist of a central string, with two subsidiary strands closely flanking the central one, which ends in a *pīpal* leaf shaped decoration. In the late Choḷa period, this *pīpal* leaf decoration disappears though the terminal of the central strand is still thick, while corresponding to the tassel on the right another appears on the left (Fig. 17c). In the Vijayanagara period, this tassel spreads itself into two strands, one encircling the shoulder at the top in curvilinear fashion and the other hanging loose, in the manner of the earlier type. This is repeated on the other shoulder as well (Fig. 17d).

In the earliest Pallava figures, flower decorations on the shoulder are absent. They begin to appear a little later though not distinctly as individual flowers with regular petals as in the late Choḷa and subsequent periods. In the early Choḷa period they have the appearance somewhat of



a b c

Fig. 16. (a) *Ajina-yajñopavīta;* (b) *yajñopavīta:* Pallava; (c) *yajñopavīta:* Early Choḷa.

long jasmine-shaped flowers. In the late Choḷa and early Vijayanagara periods, a series of flowers, three or more, becomes a regular and obvious feature.

Necklace. In the Pallava and very early Choḷa bronzes the necklaces are generally simple and not more than a couple are worn. They are usually a *kaṇṭhī,* flat and solid, and a neck chain flowing down, as in the case of Tripurāntaka (Fig. 17a). Small tassels or a single tassel-like chain hang centrally from the *kaṇṭhī.* This simple arrangement of necklaces continues in the very early Choḷa figures also and sometimes the flow of the necklace is such as to either fall over the *kaṇṭhī* and extend further below, cutting across the semi-circular contour of the *kaṇṭhī* itself, or merely below the contour. The thick *kaṇṭhī* is centrally somewhat broad, with a large flower pattern and other all-over decorative flower-designs (Fig. 17b). In the early Choḷa period, Devīs generally wear a thin string, with a golden central bead, tied high on the neck as a *māṅgalyasūtra.* Towards the beginning of the 11th century there is a tendency to elaborate the necklace, though not invariably, and it becomes the fashion for a series of necklaces, one below the other, to adorn the neck in *kaṇṭhī* fashion, some of them in the shape of several tiny mangoes strung together (Fig. 17c). In the late Choḷa period, this continues with great elaboration, but very often the flowing necklace cutting across and running below the *kaṇṭhī* becomes a characteristic favourite (Fig. 19). But now this flowing necklace is regularly composed of a series of circular beads or pearls. In the Vijayanagara period the mango decoration is almost given up. The *kaṇṭhī* comes in again but either very thin, or occasionally thick, and the number is restricted. The *kaṇṭhī* is also occasionally thickened in the centre to relieve monotony (Fig. 17d).

Armlets and bracelets. Ornamentation itself is very simple in early sculpture. It is also simple in Pallava sculpture. It is restricted to the *ananta* type of armlet quite high up on the arm (Fig. 20–1b), not centrally placed as in the early Choḷa period and later (Fig. 20–2b). The curled up end on the top of the *ananta* is simpler here than in the Choḷa period. A typical example is seen in the case of the Śiva in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Somāskanda group (Pl. 13a). This is seen almost in a similar position and form in the case of a very early Choḷa image of Vīṇādhara from the Tiruppuraṁbiyam temple, now in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 31a). This *ananta* armlet fully decked with bead pattern adorns

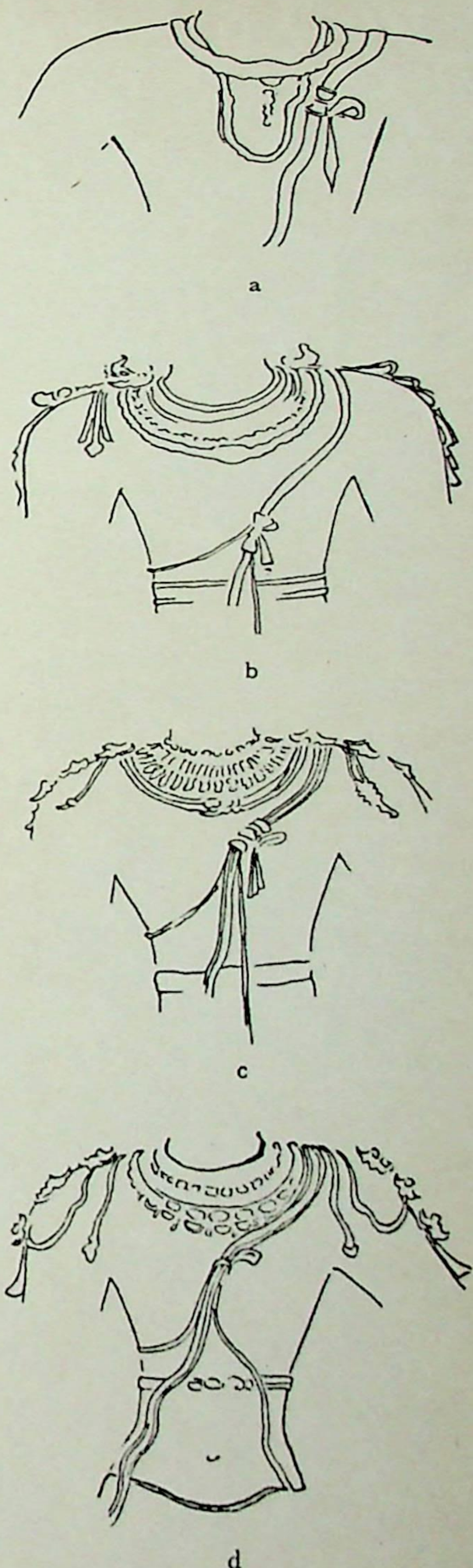


Fig. 17. Shoulder tassels, necklets and *yajñopavīta:* (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa; (c) Late Choḷa; (d) Vijayanagara.



Fig. 18. Chāmuṇḍā, from Satyamañjalam (Madras Museum).



Fig. 19. *Yajñopavīta* as a sinuous band, a single strand of necklace on a semi-circular necklet and shoulder tassles.

the middle of the arm (Fig. 20–3a) and even comes further down towards the beginning of the Vijayanagara period, as may be seen in Kālāntaka from Tirukkaḍayūr (Pl. 96a).

Another armlet pattern is composed of a string of ovoid type beads with the ribbon ends tied gracefully, as in the Pallava Tripurāntaka of the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Fig. 20–1a). In the early Choḷa period, these patterns dwindle in size and come lower down the arm while the armlet of the *ananta* type adorns the top of the arm (Fig. 20–2a, b and c). This may be seen in the Vīṇādhara from Tiruppuraṁbiyam temple, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 31a). It now looks like a bangle set with beads rather than like beads strung together; the size of the beads has also greatly diminished, leading it on to a further transformation towards the beginning of the Vijayanagara period, as seen in Kālāntaka from Tirukkaḍayūr (Fig. 20–3a and b). These beads, which are strung on a string and tied near the elbow with a large fluffy silken projection protruding beyond the knot, are a characteristic of early Choḷa sculpture, as may be seen in the case of the Naṭarāja from Tiruvaraṅgulam (Fig. 20–2b), and the Rāma from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Fig. 20–2c). The beads become smaller in course of time and the fluffy silken projection becomes attenuated, as in the Sītā of the Bhedwar collection or the Choḷa king from the Gautam Sarabhai collection. In the Vijayanagara period, this fluffy projection altogether disappears and it is just a thin bangle of beads (Fig. 20–3b). Very often this is the only armlet in several Vijayanagara bronzes, as ornamentation becomes simple though the bead decoration becomes prominent, with all strings and beads often being made to appear like a bangle inset with beads or composed of beads.

A third type of armlet seen has an elaborately ornamented clasp. This is intended to represent a large circular gem encircled by smaller ones resting on a pair of *makara* heads facing away from each other, with five ornamental spikes or prongs above and beautiful pearl tassels strung to dangle at intervals in a regular semi-circular fashion. A simpler form is seen in the Kīḷapuddanur image (Fig. 20–1c) and a very elaborate one is that of the early Choḷa Rāma from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Fig. 20–2c).

Udarabandha. The *udarabandha* or stomach-band appears as a very simple one in Pallava figures. A fine example is seen in the Tripurāntaka of the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 8) and Vishāpaharaṇa from Kīḷapuddanur (Pl. 6); but even in this period, it is sometimes decorated, though the decoration is quite simple. We have for example the same flat band of the *udarabandha* decorated with a rich clasp as in the case of the Vishṇu formerly of the Srinivasa Gopalachari collection (Pl. 11a). A similar clasp is also seen in the *udarabandha* of Śiva in Somāskanda group from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu which is of the transition period from Pallava to Choḷa. Here two additional golden drops or gems on either side of the clasp add to its effect. The *udarabandha* is seen at its best in early Choḷa bronzes, as for instance in the Naṭeśa from Tiruvaraṅguḷam (Pl. 16) where there are simple

semi-circular pearl tassels. The clasp is elaborately decorated in the case of the *udarabandha* of the early Choḷa Rāma from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Pl. 40a). Though there is not much of elaboration in the *udarabandha* in the late Choḷa period, and though it becomes even more colourless in the Vijayanagara period, there are occasional deviations, and a flaring up of elaboration may be seen in such late examples as the Śiva as Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti from Vedāraṇyam (Pl. 51).

In the case of Naṭarāja, the *udarabandha*, instead of being jewelled and metallic, is composed of the upper garment tied around the stomach in the *udarabandha* fashion and allowed to flow in rhythmic folds whirling and meandering across to touch the *prabhā* as the Lord dances.

Chhannavīra. This is a cross belt suggestive of a warrior, and is seen in its proper context in Amarāvatī sculpture. A jewelled *chhannavīra* composed of *rudrākshas* is found decorating the chest of Skanda as Brahmaśāstā in Pallava sculpture.

Suvarṇavaikakshaka. This fine golden jewel, shaped very much like the *chhannavīra* but worn by women, is often introduced in the decoration of goddesses, particularly of the early Choḷa period (Fig. 21), though it is found even in early Sātavāhana sculpture from Amarāvatī and also in Pallava sculpture.

Kaṭisūtra or the waist-band is composed of a number of ribbon-shaped strips, the clasp being an elaborate one except in the case of Pallava figures, where the clasp is simple (Fig. 22a). In the case of Tripurāntaka of the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 8), the uppermost band has several rectangular metallic decorations to tighten or loosen it and the central clasp which is shaped like a flower has ribbon ends on both sides arranged artistically (Fig. 22b). These ribbon ends continue in later sculpture also but a lion-head clasp soon appears (Fig. 22c). In fact it is seen in the mid-Pallava period, as in the case of the Vishāpaharaṇa from Kīḷapuddanur (Pl. 6), though it is not present in the later Śiva of the Somāskanda group from

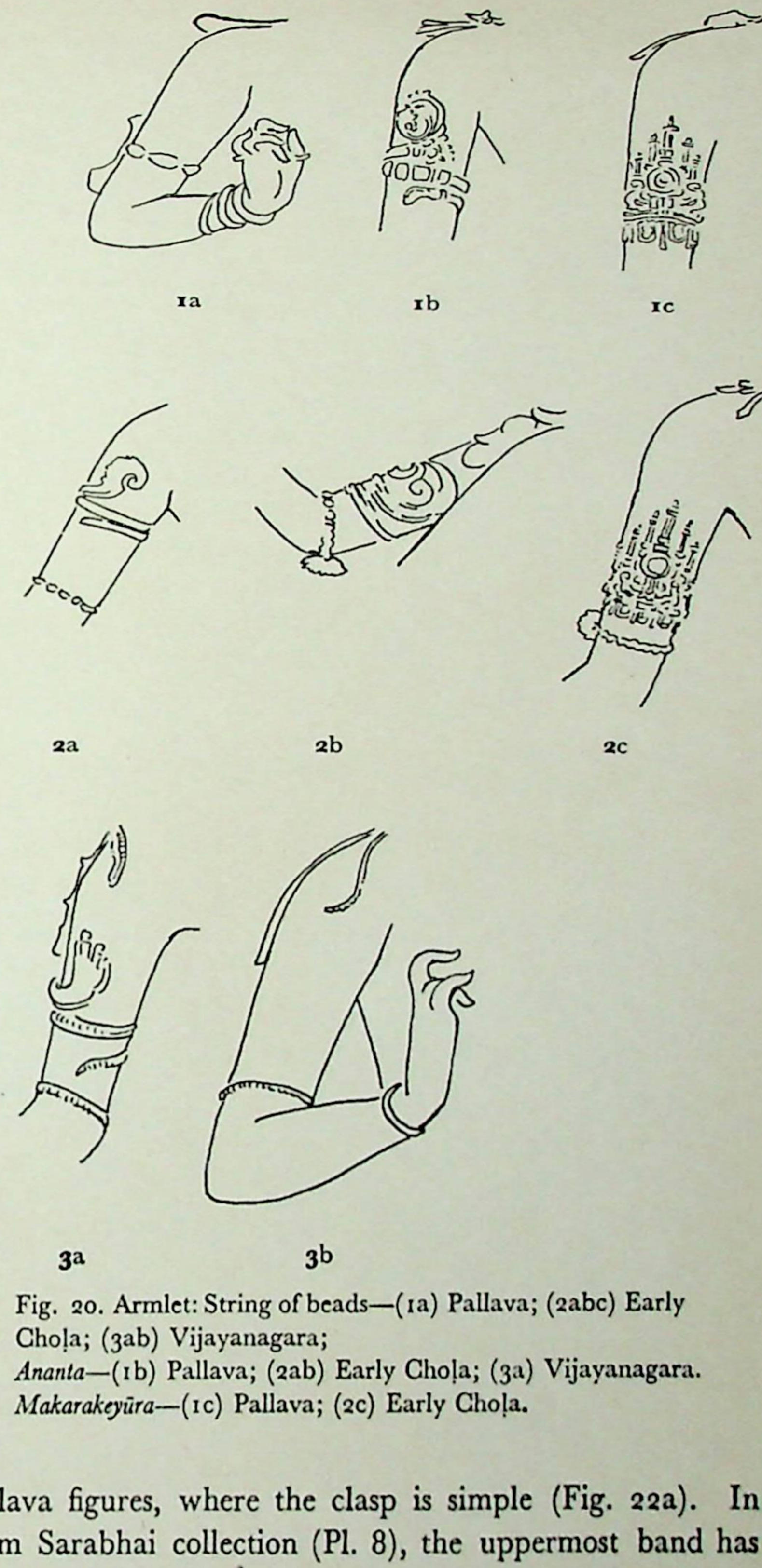


Fig. 20. Armlet: String of beads—(1a) Pallava; (2abc) Early Choḷa; (3ab) Vijayanagara;
Ananta—(1b) Pallava; (2ab) Early Choḷa; (3a) Vijayanagara.
Makarakeyūra—(1c) Pallava; (2c) Early Choḷa.



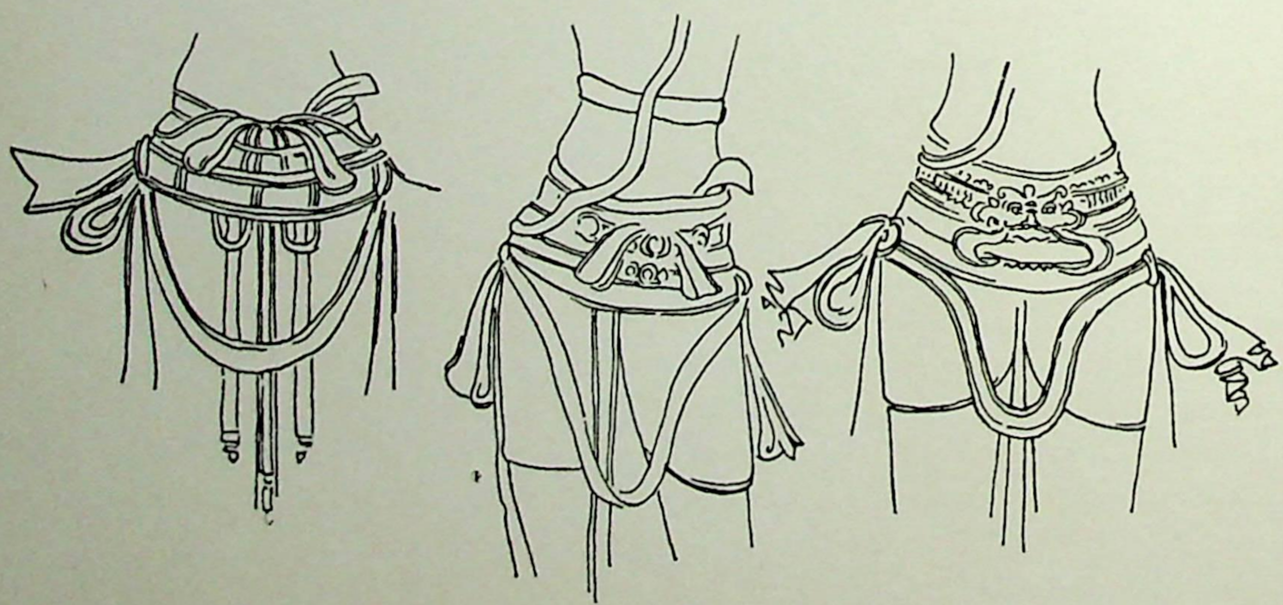
a b

Fig. 21. *Suvarṇavaikakshaka:* (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa.

Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Pl. 13). But as a general rule the lion-head clasp is usually absent in Pallava waist-bands and almost invariably present in the Choḷa ones. This band is specially for male figures and suggests power and strength. The only instances of a lion-head clasp appearing in the case of a female figure are those of the early Choḷa Kālī and the Maheśvarī from the Madras Museum (Pl. 48b and 47a). In the early Choḷa period, the lion-head clasp has ribbons issuing from its mouth and two golden strings shooting up from near the horns of the lion and curving down to run along side the ribbons on either side (Fig. 23–1a). In the Vijayanagara period, when the elaboration becomes more obvious, these golden strings proceed from the ends of the gaping mouth of the lion, shoot up, curve down and meander around the area of the hip, encircling it (Fig. 23–1b). The ribbons also envelop tassels issuing from them.

The lion clasp is absent in the case of the *kaṭisūtra* for female deities. Here we have a beautiful flower decoration with a central circular boss flanked by *makaras* with their snouts touching the central circular pattern, their floriated tails creating a picturesque effect. A long row of small golden beads with tiny drops below each forms the lower border at the bottom. In the early and late Choḷa bronzes, the semi-circular arrangement of pearl tassels with single strings in between at intervals is an effective decoration. This may be noted in the *kaṭisūtra* of Sītā from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Pl. 40b). The decoration of the *nīvī* or the folds of the hem of the garment dangling over the *kaṭisūtra* is shorter and more natural here than in later sculpture (Fig. 23–2a).

The *kaṭisūtra* in the Vijayanagara period, however, becomes more conventionalised. The *makara* pattern changes somewhat and the faces are turned away from each other. The tail ends of the central elongate decorative clasp and the series of vertical ovoid knobs or pearl-shaped beads with tiny drops below the row become a decoration at the bottom as in the case of Devī from



a b c

Fig. 22. *Kaṭisūtra:* (a) Pallava; (b) Late Pallava; (c) Early Choḷa.

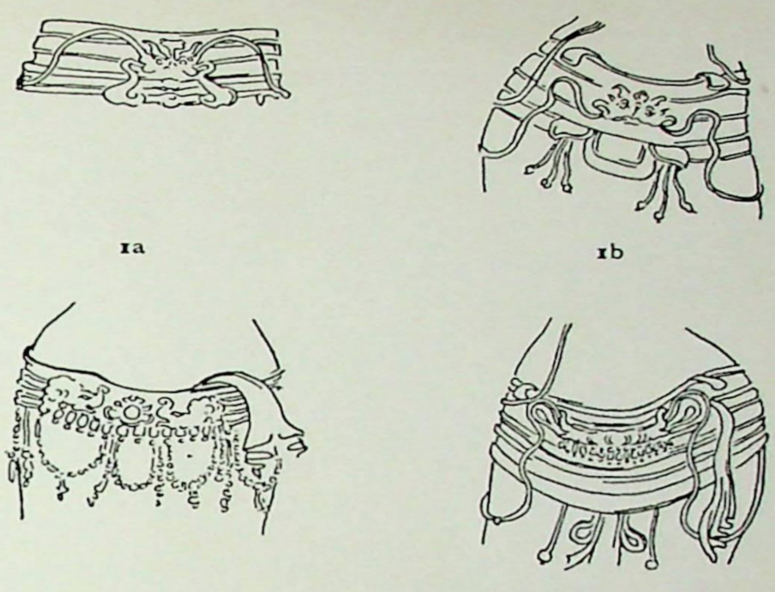


Fig. 23. *Kaṭisūtra* and *mekhalā* clasp. *Kaṭisūtra* for male figures: (1a) Early Choḷa; (1b) Vijayanagara. *Mekhalā* for female figures: (2a) Early Choḷa; (2b) Vijayanagara.

Tiruviḍaimarudūr. Issuing from the gaping mouth of the *makara* on either side are two ribbon ends and two golden strings that meander down across the band of the *kaṭisūtra* to encircle the hips. The hem of the garment is shown multi-folded and dangling as a long straight piece (Fig. 23–2b).

Waistband, Loops and Tassels. In Pallava figures, there is a flat band around the waist below which is another that hangs in semi-circular fashion like a broad loop falling over both the thighs (Fig. 22a). The ends of this broad waist-band appear on both sides of the image in the form of a long loop with free ends (Fig. 24a). Below this and against the contour of the legs on either side there is a long strip practically straight and reaching a little above the ankles (Fig. 24a). In the late Pallava period and the transition from the Pallava to Choḷa, the semi-circular lower loop runs half-way diagonally on both sides forming a smaller semicircle only at the median point (Fig. 22b). In the early Choḷa period the side loops and tassels becomes somewhat slighter in proportion near the waist-band and the single long strip is divided into two strips with one end slightly above the other but with both ends reaching far below the knee (Fig. 24b). The shapely indication of the folds of these strips is to be noted. In the late Choḷa period, the lower loop ceases altogether to be semi-circular. It falls straight half-way on both sides immediately below the upper band, and is held tight by two ribbon bands proceeding from a lion-mouth clasp on either side, whence it flows down to form, not a median loop, but what one might call a median square pattern (Fig. 24c). The side tassels and strips become a little more stylised and of the two long strips on either side, one is definitely short, ending half-way near the knee, while the other runs the usual length (Fig. 24c). In the Vijayanagara period, stylisation continues till finally there is a knob on the loops and free ends of the ribbon near the waist-band and the long strip on the sides definitely multiplies itself, not into two as before but into three or four strips of varying lengths (Fig. 24d, e).

Pṛishṭha Chakra. In the case of some Vijayanagara and later sculptures, a wheel appears incised on the buttocks with a lotus pattern sometimes worked on it (Fig. 25a). This decoration on the buttocks is absent in all earlier sculptures, whether Pallava or Choḷa. In late Chola figures, however, patterns on drapery are very common, as for instance in the case of Annapūrṇā of the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 66), where the wheel design is used. Whenever the wheel motif is introduced, it replaces all other designs. This may be seen in the Yoganarasiṁha from the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 74a), Vishāpaharaṇa from the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 6) and in Sundara from the Treasurywala collection of the National Museum of India.

Leg Ornaments. Though in earlier sculpture, the only leg ornaments are the *pādasaras* loosely covering the top of the feet below the ankles, yet in the Vijayanagara period there are

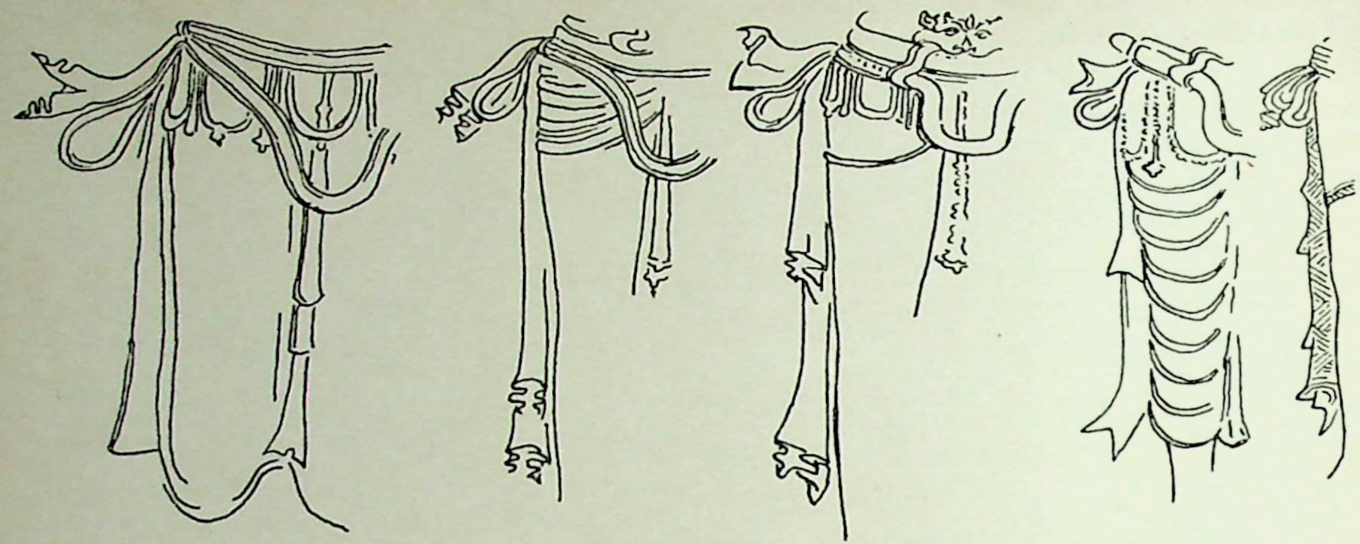


Fig. 24. *Kaṭisūtra* and side tassels: (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa; (c) Late Choḷa; (d) Vijayanagara; (e) Nāyak.

occasional bands tightly fitting over the ankles and sometimes a single coil-shaped band, somewhat high up on one leg.

In the case of Śiva, the *bhṛiṅgipāda*, a small bell tied by a string on one of the legs, appears in the late Choḷa period and continues in Vijayanagara and late sculpture. It is totally absent in Pallava and very early Choḷa sculpture.

Dress: Antarīya. In the case of Vishṇu, the lower garment is always a full one reaching down to the ankles. This is the *hastiśauṇḍika* fashion or the orthodox mode of wear which still survives all over India and which simulates the trunk of an elephant curled towards the tip. The cloth, neatly folded several times at both ends, is centrally fixed both at the front and at the back and held together by the *kaṭisūtra* and the belt.

The lower garment of Vishṇu is very broad and plain in the earliest phase, but a regular schematic arrangement of folds covering the whole length of the leg from the ankles to the waist becomes a feature from the Choḷa period onwards and becomes more stylised in later periods. Even in the case of *ardhoruka* (shorts) a fluted rib-shaped representation of folds is adopted.

In the case of Subrahmaṇya, as in the case of Brahmā, Vishṇu's mode of dress together with its transformation in different periods is repeated.

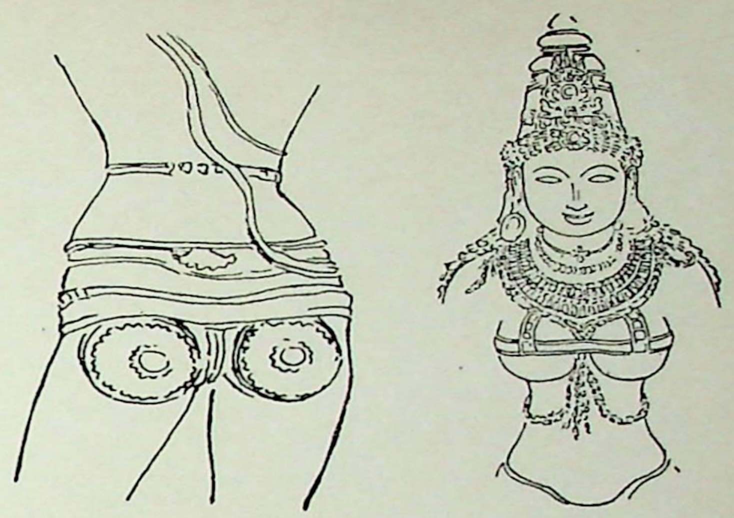
The garment in the case of Devī normally extends on one side nearly down tho te ankle while on another, it proceeds a little below the thigh and usually there is a long strip showing the folds of the free ends of one side of the garment closely trailing on the back of one of the legs. It may be to the left as in the case of Pārvatī from the Vṛishabhavāhana group (Pl. 20a), or the seated Pārvatī (Pl. 59b) both from the Bhedwar collection, or to the right as in the case of the Pārvatī from Melaperumbaḷḷam. This feature, observed even in the earliest bronzes of the 8–9th centuries A.D., is interesting in as much as it shows a mode of wearing the *sārī* which has survived among the Brahmins in South India in what is known as *kośāmpoḍavai*, which remains the orthodox way of wearing the *sārī* for married women.

The fluted arrangement of the folds of the drapery in ribbed fashion becomes a regular feature in early Choḷa sculpture. In the late Choḷa period, a more popular device to indicate the

garment is to incise double lines at intervals indicating the folds and to cover the space between them with circular and other designs indicating patterns woven in the fabric.

The folds of the hem of the garment over the waist knot are allowed to flow down over the waist zone and this is in its turn more lengthy in the late Choḷa period than in earlier periods.

The garment in the case of *dīpa-lakshmīs* and female portraits such as the queens of Kṛishṇadevarāya at Tirupati (Pl. 82a) show a long bunch of folds centrally suspended from below the waist so as to spread out fan-like in semi-circular fashion just above the feet. This manner of wearing the lower garment is the unorthodox mode which is quite common even today.



a b

Fig. 25. (a) *Pṛishṭhachakra*; (b) *kuchabandha*.

Ardhoruka. Though in early Pallava figures, Śiva usually wears a lower garment like that of Vishṇu, as for instance in the Gaṅgādhara panel from the cave at Tiruchirāpalli, there is no example in bronze showing him wearing it. In the bronzes he usually wears the *ardhoruka* (shorts) but still, following the earlier tradition in Pallava sculpture which we find both in stone and in bronze images, the folds of one end of the garment composing the knot are shown flowing out beyond the *kaṭisūtra* towards the left. Śiva wears either the shorts or a lower garment half-way up the thighs. The folds are indicated as in the case of the Pallava Tripurāntaka from the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 8). That it is not always a regular pair of shorts he wears but often a small loin-cloth covering the thighs half-way, is indicated in early bronzes, both Pallava and Choḷa, as in the figure of Rāma of the Vaḍakkupaṇayūr group (Pl. 40a), though occasionally regular shorts are worn, as in the case of Tripurāntaka or Kirātamūrti from Tiruveḷvikuḍi (Pl. 32a). The strip forming the hem of the cloth indicates the type of the garment worn. In the Choḷa period, the mode of indicating the shorts as a small loin-cloth is achieved by the device of showing one end of the cloth as a fluttering triangular terminal immediately below the lion-clasp of the waist cord. Instances of this device are seen in the Śiva of the Bhedwar collection, Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruveṅgāḍu (Pl. 21a) and Tripurāntaka from Tañjāvūr (Pl. 33a). Sometimes there is a multifold strip tucked in at the centre, as in the case of the Tripurāntaka from Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Pl. 34) and Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruveḷvikuḍi (Pl. 18). It is present both in early and late Choḷa images, as can be seen from the fact that it occurs in the figure of Rāma from Veḷārpuram (Pl. 39a), in the portrait of Kulottuṅga (Pl. 20b), and the Choḷa royal portrait from the Gautam Sarabhai collection. In the case of Kṛishṇa, Subrahmaṇya and various other deities, this mode of representation is common as also in the case of Aiyanār. The personified *bhaktas* like Chaṇḍikeśvara and Nandikeśvara wear a garment in this mode.

Kuchabandha. The *kuchabandha*, a strip of cloth covering the breasts, appears in Choḷa sculpture as a decoration for female deities. Lakshmī, the senior consort of Vishṇu, usually wears this (Fig. 25b). The *kuchabandha* is almost totally absent in Pallava bronzes, occurring only in the case of Durgā. It is, however, present in Choḷa images, though not invariably. Śrīdevī of

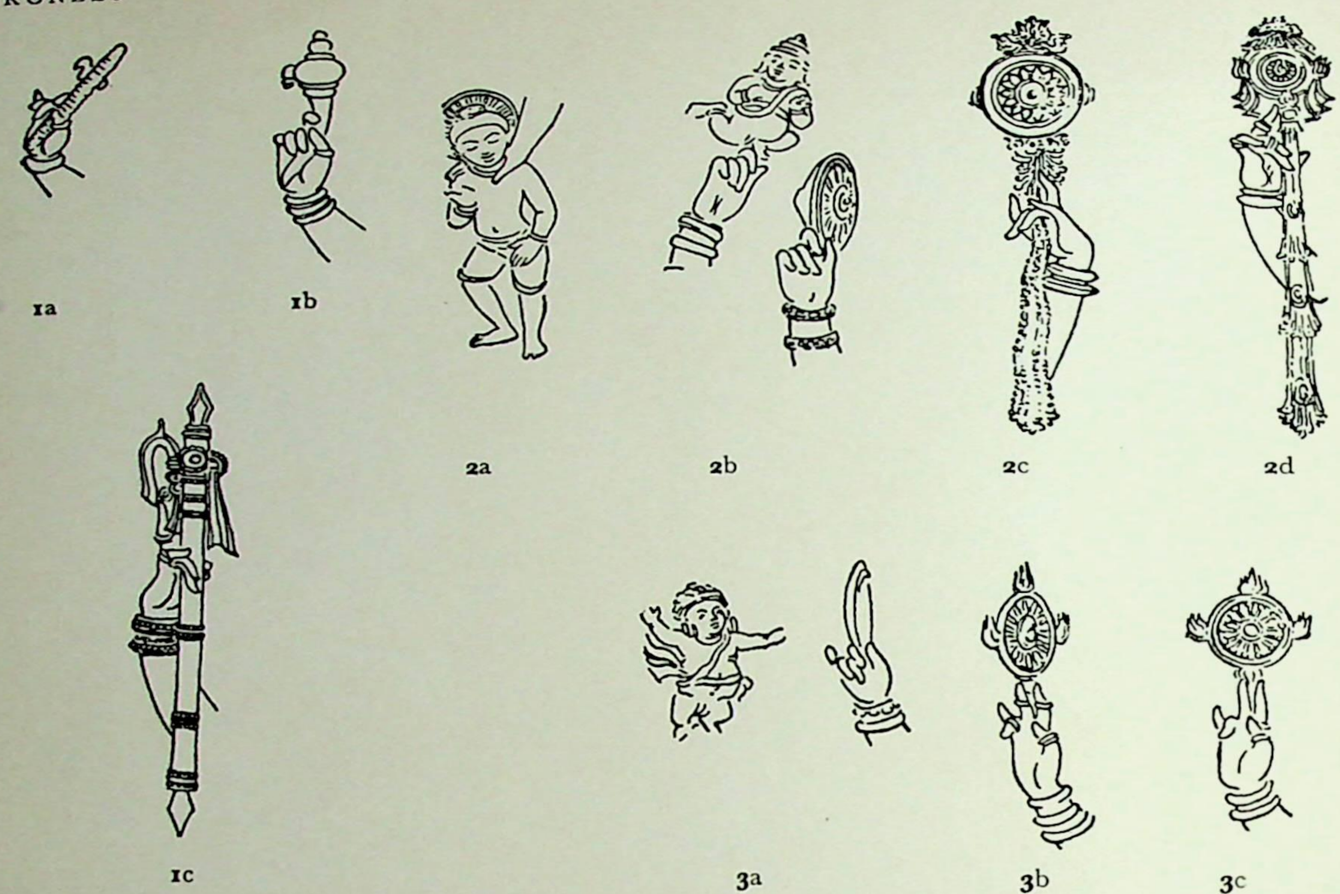


Fig. 26 (left) — *aṅkuśa* (goad): (1a) Choḷa; (1b) Vijayanagara; (1c) Western Chāḷukya (Hoysaḷa).
(right) — *chakra* (wheel): (2a) Gupta; (2b) Early Chāḷukya; (2cd) Late Chāḷukya;
(3a) Pallava; (3b) Early Choḷa; (3c) Late Choḷa.

the Vishṇu group from Sirupaṇayūr (Pl. 42b) and Vaḍakkupaṇayūr has the *kuchabandha*, but it is absent in the Śrīdevī of the Peruntoṭṭam group (Pl. 42a). Pārvatī never wears the *kuchabandha* as she is the only consort of Śiva, except when she manifests herself as Kālī or Mahishamardinī Durgā, in which forms the *kuchabandha* is a *nāgakuchabandha*, namely, a snake artistically coiled into a knot over the centre of the breast.

Weapons and Other Characteristics. Weapons are carried in Pallava and early Choḷa sculpture in a natural way and are also represented artistically. Later they are carried between the first two fingers in the *kartarīmukha* pose; and slowly they become conventionalised and deformed beyond recognition. The *aṅkuśa* or elephant goad (Fig. 26, 1a–c), and *pāśa* or noose (Fig. 27, 1–2) in early sculptures are realistic, the noose being mostly a serpent noose. But in later sculptures, the goad becomes a barrel-shaped object, hardly to be recognised as a goad (Fig. 26, 1b), while the noose looks like anything but what it is intended to be. In Chāḷukya and Hoysaḷa sculptures, the weapons originally carried in a natural way in the earliest sculptures from Bādāmī and Aihoḷe (Fig. 27, 2a) are later carried in a peculiar pose of the hand which looks like a modified form of *tripatāka* (Fig. 26, 1c and Fig. 27, 2b).

The *śaṅkha* or conch is always held in South Indian sculptures with the spiral top upwards. The opening in the shell is shown in a more natural form in Pallava and early Choḷa sculpture than in later periods, when it becomes more conventionalised and schematic (Fig. 27, 3a–c). This is the case in early Chāḷukya figures also. In late Chāḷukya and Hoysaḷa

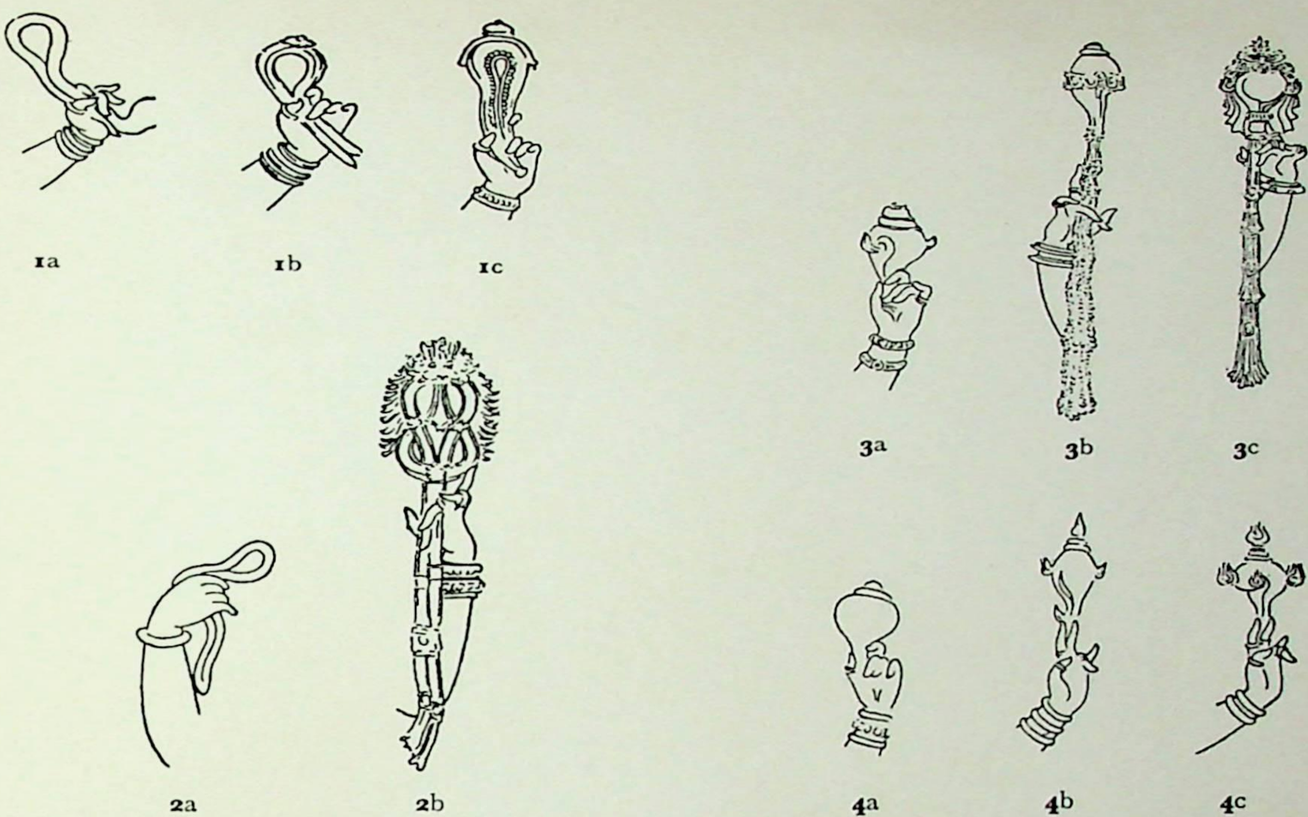


Fig. 27. *Pāśa* (noose): (1a) Early Choḷa; (1b) Late Choḷa; (1c) Vijayanagara; (2a) Early Western Chāḷukya; (2b) Late Western Chāḷukya (Hoysaḷa). (right)—*śaṅkha* (conch): (3a) Early Chāḷukya traditions; (3bc) Late Chāḷukya traditions; (4a) Tamil traditions, Pallava; (4b) Tamil traditions, Early Choḷa; (4c) Tamil traditions, Late Choḷa.

sculptures, the flame ornament and the long tassel tail are present (Fig. 27, 3a-c).

Chakra. In early Pallava sculpture, the *chakra* is carried in a natural way. It is a solid disc carried so that the edge almost faces the spectator (Fig. 26, 3a). In this respect it is very similar to the early Chāḷukya representations at Bādāmī (Fig. 26, 2b). In late Pallava sculpture the *chakra* begins to have flames which later develop and become a regular feature. In early Choḷa sculpture, the wheel is at an angle of 45° held by the two fingers in *kartarīmukha* fashion (Fig. 26, 3b), and still later, from the very late Choḷa period onwards, it faces the spectator flat and is composed of a number of petals around a central hub with a marginal circle and the flames decorating the sides and centre (Fig. 26, 3c). Tassels and other appendages appear in the late Vijayanagara period, both on the *chakra* and the conch. In late Chāḷukya and Hoysaḷa sculpture, the *chakra*, like the *śaṅkha* and the other weapons, has a long tassel tail beneath it (Fig. 26, 2d).

Gadā. The *gadā* (mace) in Pallava sculptures is a heavy long barrel-like weapon with a clumsy handle (Fig. 28, 2a), but in early Choḷa sculpture, it is slender with a number of horizontal bands and is slightly thicker towards the lower end (Fig. 28, 2b). The early Chāḷukya *gadā* has its lower end composed of a number of vertical bands with a star-shaped cross-section and this is continued in late medieval Chāḷukya (Fig. 28, 1c) and Hoysaḷa sculpture (Fig. 28, 1d).

Padma. Padma or the lotus of Vishṇu is shown in a natural way in Pallava figures of Vishṇu, but it occurs very rarely, and is shown on the palm held in *abhaya*. It is not seen in later sculpture.

Fig. 28

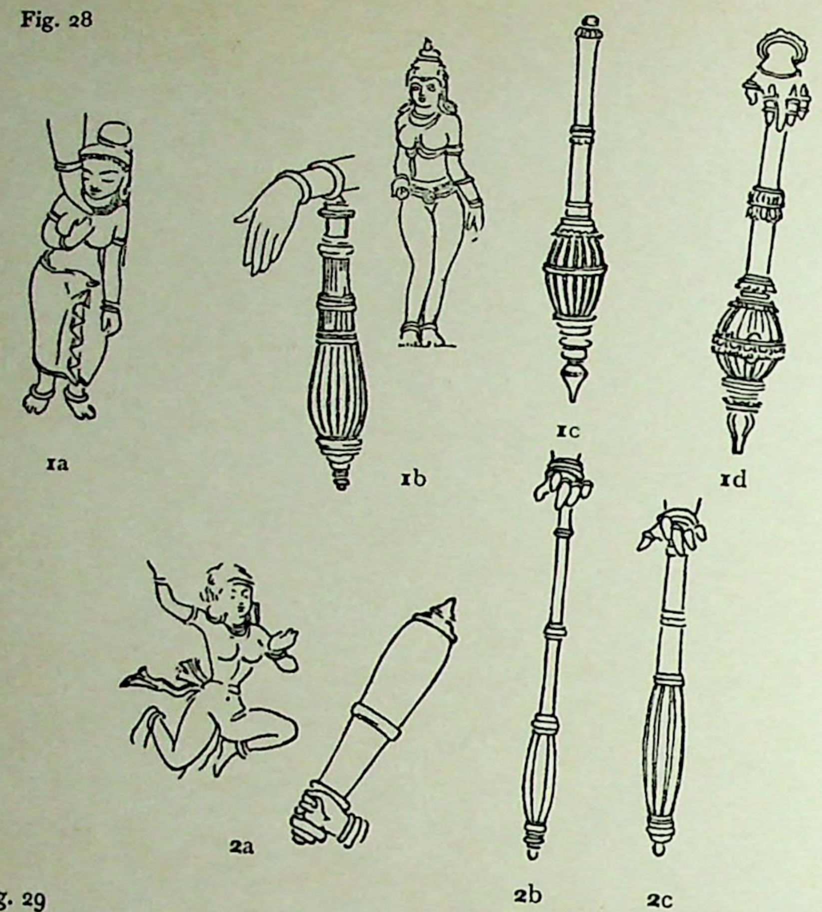


Fig. 28. *Gadā* (club): (1a) Gupta; (1b) Early Chāḷukya; (1cd) Late Chāḷukya; (2a) Pallava; (2b) Early Choḷa; (2c) Late Choḷa.

Fig. 29. *Śūla* (trident): (1a) Pallava; (1b) Choḷa; (1c) Vijayanagara; (2a) Early Western Chāḷukya; (2bc) Late Western Chāḷukya.

Fig. 30. *Paraśu* (axe): (1a) Pallava; (1b) Early Choḷa; (1c) Vijayanagara; (2a) Early Chāḷukya; (2b) Late Western Chāḷukya.

Fig. 29

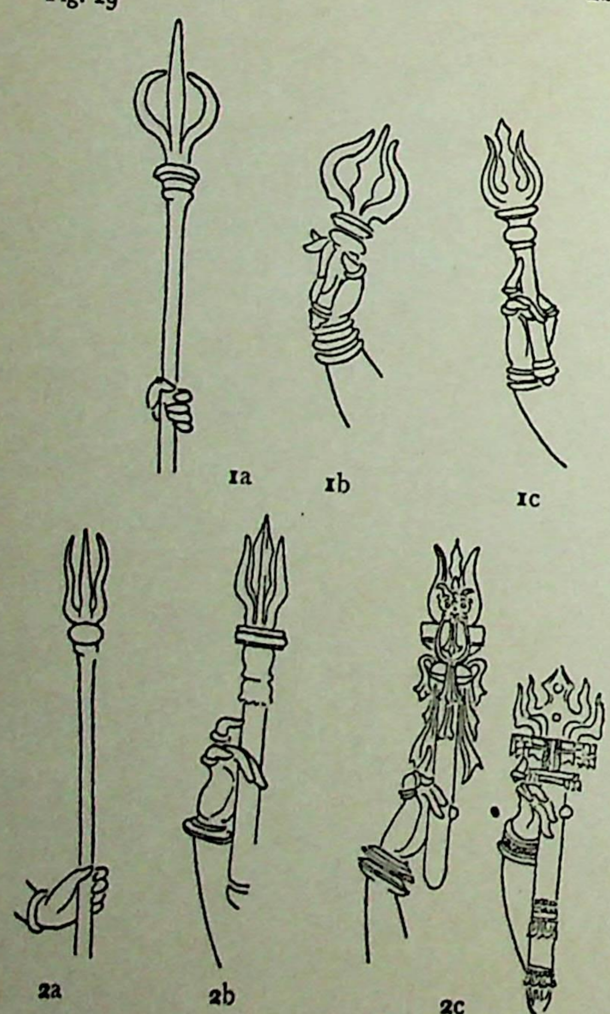
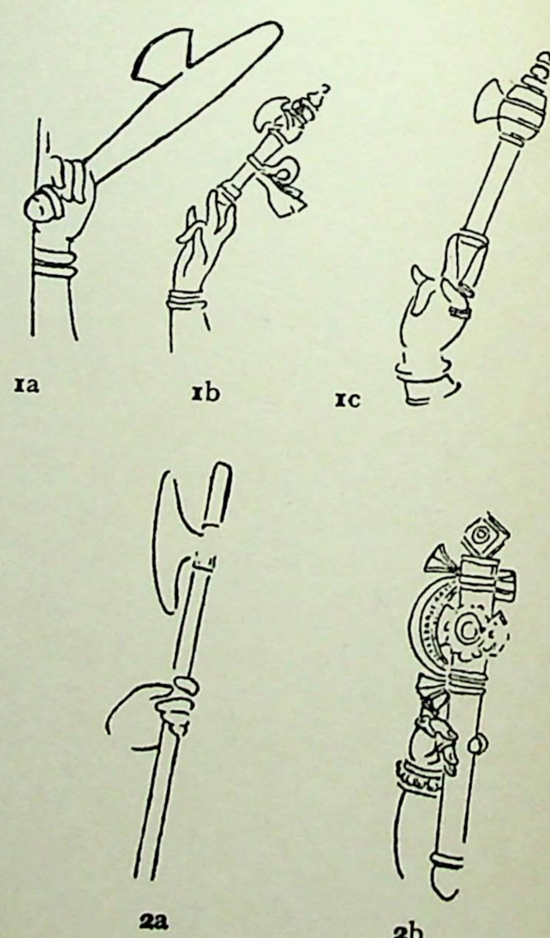


Fig. 30



Āyudhapurusha. Vishṇu's weapons are sometimes represented in human form but only in very early sculptures, the latest example being of early medieval date. Thus in Pallava carvings from Mahābalipuram, we find personified weapons such as the *gadā*, the *chakra* and the *śaṅkha*. It is interesting to note that there are two images which should be dated in the late Choḷa period representing *āyudhapurushas*. They are the only examples of their kind in metal or stone, to represent *āyudhapurusha* in so late a period. One is a representation of the *gadā* (Pl. 64b) and the other of the *chakra* (Pl. 64a). The *gadā* is generally never represented as a *purusha*, as this weapon is always conceived as a goddess, but here is a deviation which is a unique representation of the *gadā* as a *purusha*.

The *śūla* (trident) of Śiva and Kālī or Piḍārī is represented with the figure of Śiva as Vṛishabhavāhana or Kālī against it. This is the *āyudhapurusha* form of this weapon. No other weapon of Śiva such as the *paraśu* or *pināka* has a personified form. These personified forms of the *śūla* were fashioned mostly in the Choḷa period.

Śūla. The *śūla* (trident) associated with Śiva, Kālī and other deities is almost circular in contour in Pallava sculptures, its outer prongs being fully curved while the long central prong projects upwards, the whole resting on a *pīṭha* at the point of the handle (Fig. 29, 1a). The shape is modified somewhat in the Choḷa period where the central prong is definitely shorter and of normal height (Fig. 29, 1b). In later sculpture, the contour of the outer prongs became less circular and more open and elongate, the *pīṭha* being negligible (Fig. 29, 1c). The Chāḷukya *śūla* in the earlier specimens has a double curve for the two outer prongs and is more open (Fig. 29, 2a). This is elaborated in later Chāḷukya examples (Fig. 29, 2b and c).

Paraśu (axe). The axe is naturalistically represented in Pallava sculpture (Fig. 30, 1a), sometimes with even the thong with which the blade is tied to the wooden handle (as in the primitive types) — a true *khaṇḍa-paraśu* of Śiva (Fig. 30, 1b). Later it changes into a cumbersome barrel-shaped object (Fig. 30, 1c). In Chāḷukya sculptures, it is actually the metal axe-head fitted to a handle (Fig. 30, 2a), which becomes more ornate in late Chāḷukya carving (Fig. 30, 2b).

Mṛiga (deer). The deer is held by Śiva in addition to the *paraśu* in his upper pair of arms in South Indian sculpture. The axe and deer distinguish Śiva in South Indian sculpture as much as the trident and the snake in North Indian. The entire body of the deer is turned inward and the animal faces Śiva or the spectator in early representations of the Pallava and Choḷa periods, though later the body turns outward bending the neck to look back at Śiva, till finally in the latest sculptures the animal completely turns his back as well as his head away from the deity. A very rare exception is the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Somāskanda (Pl. 13).

Śrīvatsa symbol. In the case of Vishṇu, there is on his chest a symbol known as *śrīvatsa*, a very ancient symbol of the goddess of prosperity. The *śrīvatsa* symbol distinguishes Vishṇu as one possessing a special mark of beauty and fortune — *śrīvatsa* being the symbol of the goddess of fortune, Śrī. This mark, peculiar to Vishṇu on the chest, is centrally shown on Gupta sculptures in a very early form in North India. In almost similar form, it occurs on the right chest in Pallava figures, not unlike the *śrīvatsa* symbol as it occurs earlier at Amarāvatī. An example of the same symbolic Lakshmī in its earliest Pallava form occurs in the Peddamuḍiyam plaque as also in a metal piece of Pallava date found at Enāḍi in the Tañjāvūr District and preserved in the Madras Museum (Fig. 31). This indicates the association of the symbol with seated Lakshmī. The curled hands and legs and the crowned head and trunk suggest a semi-symbolic figure of seated Lakshmī. This symbol, though found lacking in several early Pallava sculptures in South India, is still present in some of the late Pallava bronzes. The Madras Museum collection of bronzes contains some figures representing Vishṇu which are specially important for the study

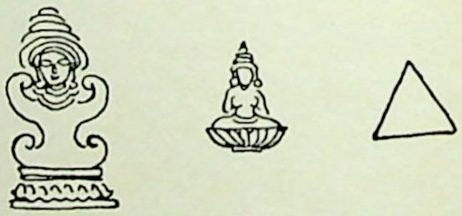


Fig. 31. Semi-symbolic figure of Lakshmī as *śrīvatsa* in metal. Late Pallava. 9th century A.D. Enāḍi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

of the evolution of the *śrīvatsa* mark in South India. This mark on the earlier figures (Fig. 32a) approximates the early symbol to a certain extent and is still suggestive of the origin, but there is also a tendency for the symbol to become triangular in form (Fig. 32b), in which shape it is finally seen in the Vijayanagara period (Fig. 32c). In early Choḷa bronzes, such as the Vishṇu with Śrī and Bhūdevī (No. 1 from Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District, Pl. 42a) and Vishṇu as Śrīnivāsa, also with Śrī and Bhūdevī (No. 2 from Vaḍakkuppaṇayūr), the *śrīvatsa* symbol is nearer the earlier symbol of which the semi-symbolic Lakshmī referred to above is a close parallel and derivative. In late Choḷa bronzes, such as Varadarāja No. 1 with Śrī and Bhūdevī from Tiruppuvanam, Vishṇu No. 7 from Paṇḍāravāḍai, Vishṇu No. 10 from Komal (Pl. 76b), all in Tañjāvūr District, and Vishṇu as Vaikuṇṭhanātha with Śrī and Bhūdevī from Polagam Tañjāvūr District, this mark is clearer still. In the case of Varadarāja No. 1 from Tiruppuvanam, the mark is somewhat like a vertically elongate rectangle with conical top, suggesting a shrine for Śrī, but in Vishṇu No. 10 from Komal (Pl. 76b), showing seated Lakshmī, the representation of the mark is the clearest, the figure composing a triangle. In the Vijayanagara bronzes of Vishṇu as Śrīnivāsa No. 4 with Śrī and Bhūdevī, the triangle represents the *śrīvatsa*-mark, and this is the last phase in the development of the symbol in South India. Henceforth, the symbol is represented only by a triangle. A representation of the late Choḷa phase of the *śrīvatsa* development may be seen in the seated triangular image of Lakshmī on the chest of the green monolithic sculpture representing Vishṇu as Śayanamūrti, near a tank at lower Tirupati (Chittoor District), where a number of such sculptures carved of the same fine grained stone of pleasing colour are arranged around the tank.

In Chāḷukya sculptures, the Gupta tradition of ignoring the symbol is followed and it is absent on Vishṇu's chest. It is also absent on the chest of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

Ushṇīsha. In the case of Buddha, the *ushṇīsha* shows great development. From the time he is represented in anthropomorphic fashion, the *ushṇīsha* has undergone changes. In the Amarāvatī bronzes, Buddha has an *ushṇīsha* composed of a cranial protuberance with small curls all over the head, as in later Gupta-Vākāṭaka sculpture. The early Choḷa form has a flame added on top of it which becomes more and more conspicuous in the later centuries. This development is very clearly observed in the Buddhist images from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam (Fig. 33).



a b c

Fig. 32. *Śrīvatsa:* (a) Pallava; (b) Early Choḷa; (c) Vijayanagara.



Fig. 33. *Ushṇīsha* of Buddha with flame, from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam.

In the case of Gaṇeśa, unlike northern and Chāḷukya representations where the trunk runs most of its length horizontally and tastes sweets from a bowl, in the Tamil area

it descends practically vertically on the paunch and finally curves a little to touch the sweets in the left palm. There is also another mode of presenting the vertical trunk on the paunch terminally curling a little around the sweet itself or with the sweets on its curled-up tip. Gaṇeśa invariably wears the *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* in South India while in the Deccan he has an ornamental *ratna-makuṭa*. The stylisation, even in the delineation of the trunk and the ears of Gaṇeśa, is most noteworthy in dating the figures. The cross lines on the trunk and the wavy lines on the ears are conventionalised characteristics that look unlike the natural ears of the elephant. In Pallava and early Choḷa representations, however, they are naturalistic.

THE CHĀḶUKYA AND RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA CHARACTERISTICS IN PALLAVA AND CHOḶA SCULPTURES

One of the most fascinating aspects of South Indian sculpture is to observe how, owing to constant wars between the Choḷas and the Chāḷukyas, there was considerable cultural intercourse between these territories. This intercourse helps us to understand some of the motifs and characteristics which unobtrusively make their appearance in areas where they could not be normally expected. For example, when in Pallava and Choḷa sculpture the simple necklace or the simple *udarabandha* is elaborated by the addition of small pendant pearl tassels, either over its whole length or centrally over some part of it, this decorative device points to influence from the Chāḷukya-Rāshṭrakūṭa area. Similarly when lion-head decoration appears on the bracelets and on the crown, particularly the *jaṭāmakuṭa* of the *dvārapālas* of Śiva, it is again due to this influence. Such ornamentation is observed even in the Eastern Chāḷukya *dvārapālas* of the 7th century and in those from Paṭṭaḍakal in the 8th century. Where elaboration of the *yajñopavīta* takes the form of *muktā-yajñopavīta* in several strands, the Chāḷukya influence is obvious. The peculiar *pādasaras* with little tinkling bells hanging from them in rows, the long chain composed of links with leaf-like terminal pendant hanging centrally from the waistcord, the elaboration of the *udarabandha*, the peculiar twirl of the ringlets of hair hanging on the shoulders, are conventions hailing from the Chāḷukya area. It is particularly interesting to note that the twirl in the locks of hair seen in the early Choḷa bronze images from Tiruveṅgāḍu now in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pls. 86, 88b) has its origin in figures such as the Dakshiṇāmūrti of the Noḷamba school with similar twirled *jaṭās* from Hemāvatī. In its turn it was inspired by Chāḷukya traditions. We may recall that Noḷambavāḍi, as mentioned in early Choḷa inscriptions, was conquered by Rājendra Choḷa, who admired Noḷamba sculpture and brought a number of pillars with exquisite carvings from Hemāvatī to his own kingdom. All around the Apparsvāmi shrine in the temple at Tiruvaiyār these have been set up. A few more lie scattered in the Bṛihadīśvara temple itself at Tañjāvūr. Rājendra's appreciation of the Chāḷukya traditions is observed in the fine lattice windows with decorative figure work and creeper designs from Chāḷukya territory which are seen here and there in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr and elsewhere. These were brought as trophies of war. A more permanent effect of this artistic influence is to be observed in Choḷa sculpture itself, both in stone and metal.

In the Choḷa period, there are also certain other characteristics introduced which are distinctly Chāḷukya but adopted in the Choḷa country. In early Pallava sculpture, there are no tassels or pendants hanging from the shoulder. In the early Choḷa period, they appear for the first time on one shoulder and later on both. This characteristic is observed earlier in Chāḷukya sculpture and it is from the Chāḷukya area that it came to be adopted in the Choḷa territory during the time of Kṛishṇa III. Thereafter it continued, for the art loving Choḷas were able to absorb such new elements in their art.

Metal work in India goes back to great antiquity. The earliest bronze figures found at Mohenjodaro reveal a high degree of skill in this art nearly 5,000 years ago.

The metalworker, known as *karmāra*, was one of the important artisans in ancient India and is mentioned in the Rudra of the *Yujurveda* as almost the form of the Lord himself—*namaḥ kulālebhyaḥ karmārebhyaścha*.

Tvashṭā rūpāṇi pimśati—Tvashṭā creates forms. Thus does the *Veda* praise Tvashṭā, the artificer of the gods, who works in the heavenly smithy to fashion lovely forms. All this clearly shows the important place given to the metalworker in Vedic India. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* there is an eulogy of artisans and craftsmen including the metalworker. *Śilpāni samsanti, deva-śilpānyeteshām vai śilpānām anukṛitiha śilpam adhigamyate hastī kamso vāso hiraṇyam aśvatarīrathaś śilpam, śilpam hāsmin adhigamyate ya evam veda* (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* XXX, 1). They mention the *Śilpas*. These are celestial works of art; in imitation of these works of art is created here a work of art; an ivory carving, a bronze object, a gold object, a carved mule chariot are works of art; a work of art is achieved by him who knows thus.

It is mentioned with pride that Ayodhyā was peopled by excellent artisans, *ushitam sarvaśilpibhiḥ*. Architects and artisans, aged and wise, well read and experienced in their different arts and crafts, are described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as receiving honour from royalty. Thus in the *Itihāsas* and *Purāṇas*, we find that architects, carpenters and smiths are greatly honoured.

From the *Arthaśāstra* and from general literature we learn that artisans were always treated with respect, while the *Kāvyamīmāmsā* of Rājaśekhara informs us that they were given a distinct status by assigning a place to them in the royal assembly.

The early bronze figure of a female dancer from Mohenjodaro is of course very famous, but it may be noted that an important metal image has also been found at Ādichanallur in South India (Pl. 1a). Its date is uncertain and it is a protohistoric bronze figurine of a mother goddess. It probably belongs to the Iron Age and may be 3,000 years old.

In the Kṛishṇā Valley where some of the masterpieces of Indian sculpture were carved to decorate the *stūpas* at Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Gummiḍidurru, Ghaṇṭaśāla and other sites, the coppersmith has also exhibited his skill and accordingly the earliest bronzes that we know from South India belong to the early centuries of the Christian era and come mainly from the Kṛishṇā Valley. The Amarāvatī school of sculpture illustrates the perfection of the sculptor's craft during the Sātavāhana period, specially in the 2nd century A.D., when the railing was erected around the main *stūpa* by the great Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna. Side by side with stone carving the sculptor engaged himself in preparing metal images of the Master.

The bronzes described by Sewell as found at Buddhām near Guṇṭur belong to the same class as the more famous ones discovered at Amarāvatī by Alexander Rea (Pl. 1c). These bronzes should be assigned to the 3rd century A.D. and are contemporary with the Ikshvāku sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and the sculptures of the Fourth Period at Amarāvatī itself. Here, in an atmosphere of catholicity fostered by the Sātavāhana kings, to whom Nāgārjuna was more than a *guru*, there was a production centre, like that of Mathurā which was under the direct patronage of the Kushāṇa sovereigns. Even as the images of Bodhisattva dedicated by the friar Bala travelled

from Mathurā to Śrāvastī, Sārnāth, and other places, the sculptures of the Amarāvatī school travelled far beyond their home to such distant places as Ceylon, Malaya, Cambodia and Indonesia. The Colombo Museum has a fine bronze image of a seated Buddha of the Amarāvatī school (Pl. 1d), while Quaritch Wales has discovered many examples of the Buddha in metal in the Malayan Peninsula during his archaeological and exploratory work. The influence of the metal sculptor of the Kṛishṇā Valley (Pl. 2b) is to be seen not only in the later work of the Pallava period in the Tamil country but a combined influence of both is found in distant Indonesia. It is unnecessary to go into details of the links between the art of Amarāvatī and Borobudur, nor is it necessary to draw attention to Pallava influence in Southeast Asia. One aspect of the Pallava influence, the epigraphical, is clear from the spread of Indian scripts in Southeast India.[1] Recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa have revealed some early bronzes of which the prince with a bow (Pl. 2a) is indeed remarkable. The Sātavāhana traditions in the Deccan are observed in a bronze now in the Kolhapur Museum (Pl. 1b).

The magnificent bronzes discovered at Nāgapaṭṭiṇam vouch for close links between the arts of India and Indonesia in general and the art of the metalworker from South India and that of the Śailendras in particular. The huge bare cell with a large empty pedestal in Chaṇḍi Kalaśan in Indonesia speaks in mute eloquence of the great metal image of Tārā once enshrined there, as mentioned in the Kalaśan inscription. So also in the shrine of Chaṇḍi Sewu a similar story is narrated by a similar large empty cell and a pedestal without figure. If these cells in the *Chaṇḍis* of Java excite our wonder as to how such splendid large images were fashioned in those remote days, the same sense of wonder is heightened when we gaze at the magnificent Gupta period bronze Buddha dug out at Sultanganj a century ago by railway engineers and now preserved in the Birmingham Museum. The size of this great Buddha need not baffle us, for is it not the metal worker of the Gupta period who has given us the gigantic iron pillar at the Qutb, which still amazes the modern world?

The lamp chain from Jogeshvari caves in the vicinity of Bombay is a remarkable example of early Western Chāḷukya work of *circa* 8th century A.D. (Pl. 5a). The elephant here reminds us of those painted in the Bagh Caves or the early figures of Aiyanār with an attendant on an elephant in the Madras Government Museum. The animated figures of musicians at intervals along the chain, to break the monotony, add to the beauty of such a simple object as a mere chain composed of links. This chain has a parallel in that found in Sumatra, and illustrated by Th. van Erp.[2] This brings us again to the question of Indian influences in Indonesia and it is to be remembered that a keen observer notices as many parallelisms from the Chāḷukya territory as from the Pallava country and the areas ruled by the Pālas.

A gilt metal image of the Orissan school from the Ajit Ghose collection in the National Museum (Pl. 5b) has features which indicate a synthesis of Pāla and Eastern Chāḷukya art traditions in Eastern Gaṅga territory. The close proximity of the Eastern Gaṅga kingdom to the northern Pāla dominion, and its long political subordination to the Eastern Chāḷukya power before gaining an independent status explains this fusion of characteristics and provides very interesting study. The *chakra* has no tassel on the hub; the *śaṅkha* is typically heavy and Orissan; the *gadā* is shown resting on the ground in the southern fashion. Śrī and Bhūdevī, holding the lotus and lily respectively, are consorts of Vishṇu fashioned in the southern tradition. They are unlike Śrī and Sarasvatī so common in Bengal, following the northern tradition. The features of the figures are, however, more northern than southern, and are clearly Orissan. The *prabhā*, and

[1] C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Epigraphy and South Indian Scripts*, pl. 1.

[2] Annual Bibliography of the Kern Institute, vol. XIV for the year 1939, pl. Id, IIb-d.



Fig. 34. Umāmaheśvara. Noḷamba. 9th century A.D. Hemāvatī, Anantapur District. Government Museum, Madras.

pīṭha with Garuḍa and a donor added to it, though both typically Orissan, are more inclined towards the Pāla idiom. It may be remarked incidentally that the central Indian tradition also approaches the Orissan to a certain extent. This typical Orissan image is an Eastern Gaṅga piece of *circa* 11th century A.D. and may be dated in the time of Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva (A.D. 1076–1147).

The Eastern Chāḷukya tradition in metal work can be studied in the Chimakurti bronzes preserved in the Madras Museum including the fine group of Veṇugopāla with consorts (Pl. 4), where all the figures wear large circular earrings and their bodily proportions and contours are more in the Chāḷukya than in the Tamil style. This group is illustrative of the workmanship in the Andhra area during the medieval period.

A remarkable bronze of slightly earlier date from the Eastern Chāḷukya area is the representation of Śiva from the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City (Pl. 30). The peculiar axe, the mode of wearing the *jaṭā*, the style of drapery and ornamentation and bodily contours point to this mode of work. The *yajñopavīta* composed of pearls with a double-bell clasp and ribbon fastening, the armlets and the loose *jaṭās* curled at the end resting on the shoulders, all point to affinities to early sculpture.

The Chimakurti bronzes should be studied in relation to the contemporary stone sculpture of the area from which they come, like that of Biccavol and Vijayavāḍa in Andhra Pradesh, and when this is done we find that late medieval carvings from the numerous temples in the Districts of Guntur, Krishna and Godavari adhere to the Eastern Chāḷukya and Kākatīya traditions of slim tall figures with the element of ornamentation rather restrained, traditions which are apparent in the Chimakurti metal images. The Kākatīya characteristics of simplicity and elegance as seen at Waraṅgal and Hanamkoṇḍa are in contrast to the exhuberance and excess of ornamentation which mark the work of the Hoysaḷa country.

An excellent example of this simple elegant Kākatīya work is seen in the slim figure of the lamp-bearer *(Dīpalakshmī)* from the National Museum (Pl. 3a). The Chāḷukya type of pearl-bedecked coiffure as in the case of Pārvatī from the Umāmaheśvara group from Hemāvatī (Fig. 34) is seen in an elegant Chāḷukya figure of a goddess in metal of about the 9–10th century A.D. from Mysore in the collection of Captain Jones (Pl. 3b). An earlier image of the Chāḷukya school is the fine Bāhubali in the Prince of Wales Museum (Pl. 2c) closely resembling a similar carving from Ellora. The most prolific production has been in the South proper, where some of the greatest masterpieces have been produced. These bronzes occur in abundance in the Tamil districts of



Fig. 35. Somāskanda (in stone). Pallava. Late 7th century A.D. Locality unknown, probably Kāñchīpuram. S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari collection, National Museum of India, New Delhi.

South India, during the Choḷa period and Vijayanagara period when the metal sculptor's art was so universally encouraged that today almost every one of the numerous temples in the South, specially in the Tañjāvūr District, has its own collection of bronzes, some of which are creations of true genius.

The Pallavas who ruled from Kāñchī continued the early traditions of the Sātavāhanas. Though they occur in history in the 4th century A.D., it is towards the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th century that we have a connected story of the art of the South, the earliest phase of which is Pallava art in the Tamil area. Some of the finest small and medium sized bronzes in the South are of the time of the Pallavas. The Pallava characteristic of the *yajñopavīta* flowing over the right arm is strikingly represented in the famous Vishāpaharaṇa from Kīḷapuddanur in the Madras Government Museum, which is one of the masterpieces of South Indian metal sculpture (Pl. 6). Several early small images of Vishṇu also show this feature as well as other Pallava characteristics, such as the somewhat heavy undergarment worn in *hastiśauṇḍika* mode, the median loop from the waist hanging in semi-circular fashion, the absence of the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest or alternatively its presence in the form of the figure of Lakshmī, this being the early type of the *śrīvatsa* symbol itself.

The Vishāpaharaṇa image (Pl. 6) shows Śiva seated with a snake in one lower hand and the cup of poison in the other, the former to suggest the contents of the latter, a subtle suggestion. The deer and the axe are held in the upper pair of arms. The *yajñopavīta* goes over the right arm as in the case of many Pallava figures in stone, and it may be noted that this feature also occurs in early sculptures of the Western Chāḷukya school in the Bādāmī caves. The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is rather high and gracefully adorned with a *dhattūra* flower emerging on one side and the crescent moon enconced between the locks, the whole arrangement of the hair recalling the characteristics of the *jaṭā* of Śiva in other examples of Pallava stone sculpture. The *kaṭisūtra*, together with the loops and bands with which it is elaborated, are all characteristic and distinguishing features to be found in Pallava stone sculpture, and the same is true of the eyes, nose, lips, the somewhat elongate face and the soft but heavy contours of the body.

Another masterpiece of about the same date is Tripurāntaka, now in the Gautam Sarabhai collection of Ahmedabad, standing majestically with only a single pair of arms (Pl. 8). The face,

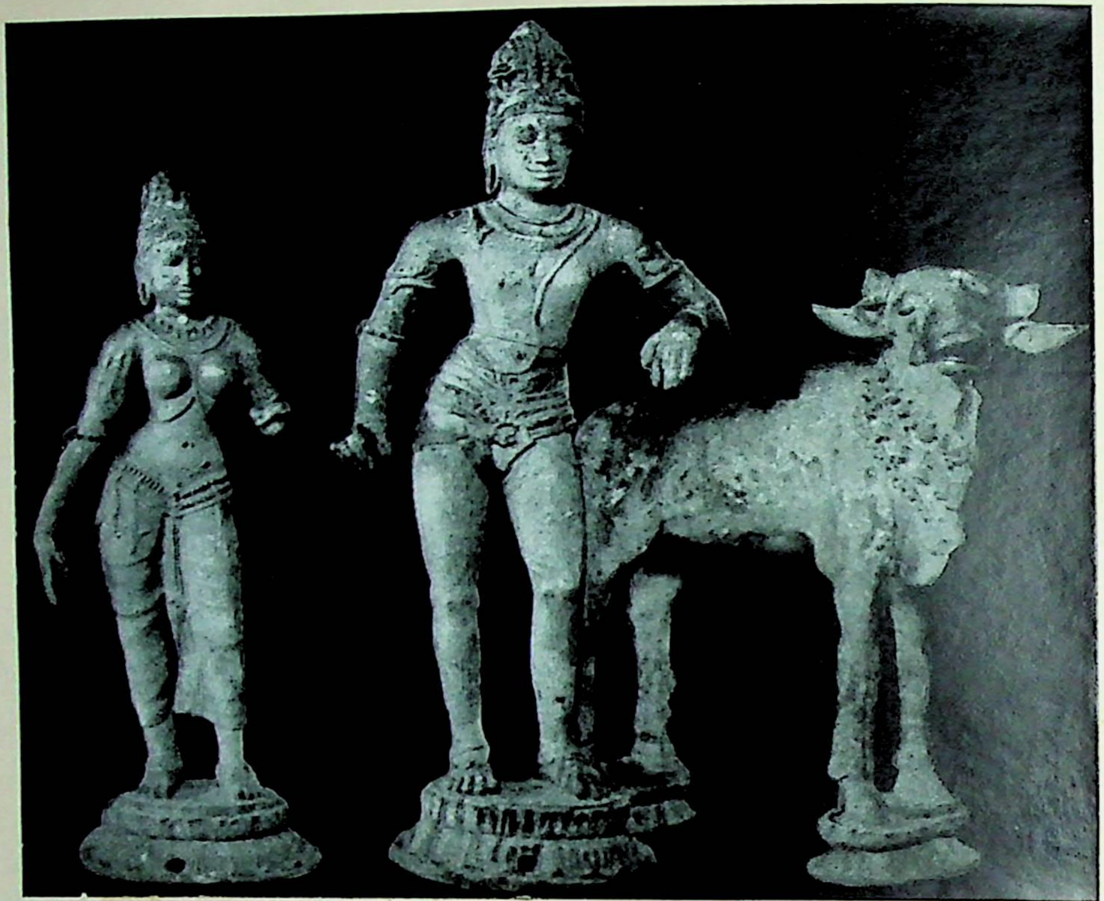


Fig. 36. Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti and Pārvatī with Nandi. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. The only known early form of this variety with the Nandi also intact. It is under worship in the Śiva temple at Taṇḍantoṭṭam village, Tañjāvūr District.

which is typically Pallava, and the *jaṭās* greatly resemble the face and *jaṭās* of the Vishāpaharaṇa image and of the Naṭeśa from Kūram (Pl. 7b-c). The last named bronze is of equally early date and is now in the Madras Government Museum. The delicacy of the contours of the Tripurāntaka figure and especially the pose, the subtle smile on the lips, and the characteristically simple *jaṭā* with sparse ornamentation, combine to make this splendid bronze unique amongst the metal images of the Pallava period.

The Naṭarāja from Kūram (Pl. 7b-c) already referred to is equally interesting. Firstly, the findspot is the place from which came the copperplates of the Pallava ruler Parameśvaravarman I (A.D. 670–680). It should be remembered that the image is a Pallava one from a Pallava temple from where an important Pallava copperplate grant has been obtained. Secondly, the image is a unique representation of Naṭarāja in the *ūrdhvajānu* pose. There are many images of Naṭarāja representing him in the *ānandatāṇḍava* pose but representations of him in *kaṭisama*, *chatura*, *lalita* and *lalāṭatilaka* are very rare. This is also one of these rare varieties. The earliest Naṭarāja occurring in Pallava sculpture is at Mahābalipuram on the Dharmarājaratha, and the Kūram image is the earliest known Pallava bronze representing Naṭeśa. It is also interesting from the point of view of the *sthāna* or pose according to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as in the present case, it is allied to the *bhujaṅgatrāsita* pose which leads on to the more commonly known *ānandatāṇḍava* pose with *daṇḍapāda* upraised. A further noteworthy point is that instead of fire in the upper hand

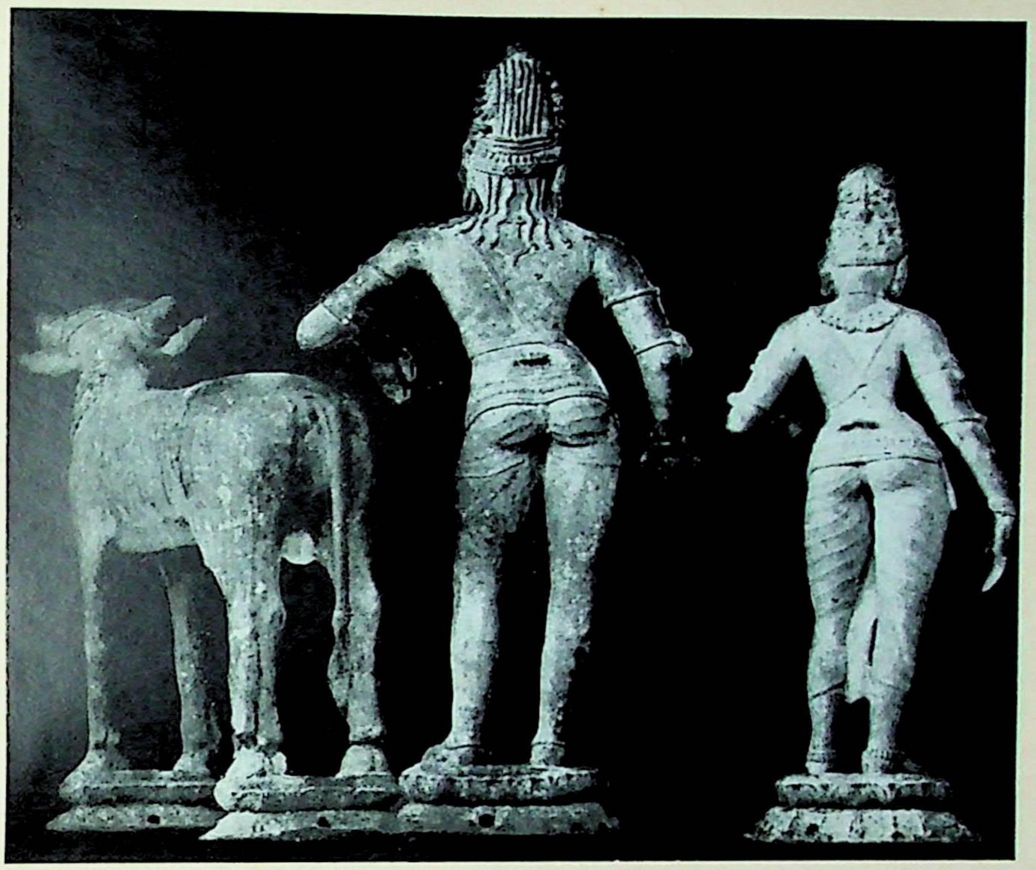


Fig. 37. Rear view of Fig. 36.

which is the usual feature in such images there is a *nāgapāśa* (snake as noose). The *jaṭāmakuṭa* is fashioned in the manner usual in Pallava bronzes of this period.

The representation of Naṭarāja in South India is normally with only four arms, none of which carries the *triśūla*, and the *ānandatāṇḍava* is the most popular one. Occasionally there is a figure having more than two pair of arms, as in the case of the Naṭarāja from Nallūr (Pl. 9), which is a unique image and one of the two Pallava images of Naṭarāja hitherto known. The other is the Kūram Naṭarāja (Pl. 7b-c).

Formerly in the collection of Srinivasa Gopalachari there was a small bronze of a standing Vishṇu, which though worn, is still a significant and important image (Pl. 11a). The *yajñopavīta* runs over the right arm. The *kaṭisūtra*, the heavy hanging loops therefrom, the arrangement of drapery, particularly of the lower garment, the anatomy of the figure and the *śaṅkha* and *chakra* lacking flames and carried in normal fashion (avoiding *kartarīmukha*, which however occurs in some contemporary sculpture also) are the features to be taken into account in concluding that this bronze is a genuine piece of Pallava workmanship.

A similar miniature bronze is in the collection of N. Y. Sastri (Pl. 10a). It is better preserved and is also a good specimen of the Pallava period.

In the Madras Government Museum there is a small bronze representing Vishṇu which is fashioned almost in the same manner as the figures just described, but the *yajñopavīta* does not go over the right arm (Pl. 10b). This feature, namely, the *yajñopavīta* going over the right arm, wherever it occurs indicates invariably a Pallava period date. But this is not the only mode

in which the *yajñopavīta* is worn in Pallava sculpture. Even the *kirīṭa* in the sculpture of this early period is somewhat different from its later versions, being almost cylindrical.

A fine Durgā standing on a buffalo's severed head and markedly resembling similar figures in stone at Mahābalipuram is another typical example of Pallava metalwork (Pl. 11b). Unfortunately the image has been 'doctored' at a later date, particularly the arms. This image once belonged to the collection of Srinivasa Gopalachari.

The truly beautiful bronze from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu representing Somāskanda, now in the Madras Museum (Pl. 13), may be late Pallava or of the transition period from Pallava to Choḷa. But it is the Pallava tradition that seems more pronounced (compare Fig. 35). The forms of both the god and the goddess closely resemble those of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (A.D. 731–796), as seen in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram. It is unique amongst Southern bronzes in so far as it shows Śiva carrying the *śūla* and *kapāla* in a Somāskanda image. The attitude of carrying the *śūla* recalls a Pallava sculpture in the Kailāsanātha temple. The *triśūla* is also of the Pallava type. The dainty little *kirīṭa* of Devī (Umā) and her slender form also remind us of Pallava figures of Devī. The fairly small size of the image also suggests its closer affinity to the time of the Pallavas rather than that of the Choḷas, though it cannot be overlooked that the earliest Choḷa figures are also medium sized. Skanda is unfortunately missing. Noteworthy features are the modelling of the figures, the characteristic *jaṭā* of Śiva according to the type of that period, the bejewelled delicate crown of the goddess, the treatment of drapery and of the tassels hanging from over the seat. This bronze is particularly interesting for studying the metal-worker's art, as on the face of Pārvatī, as also in parts of the figure of Śiva, the pores caused by air bubbles in the process of casting are still visible. This indicates that the early process was quite different from the later one represented by the present-day metal images, in the preparation of which the *sthapati* casts a crude figure from which he chisels out the features, unlike his early forefathers who fashioned the wax figure with the utmost care and cast it in such a way that all the details were transferred to the metal replica.

The group of Śiva and Pārvatī as Vṛishavāhana which is in the Bhedwar collection (Pl. 20a) is also of the Pallava period, and is as excellent as a similar very early Choḷa group in the Taṇḍantoṭṭam temple (Figs. 36-37) in the Tañjāvūr District. The simplicity of ornamentation and the contours of the figures all point to an early date.

The image of Maitreya from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam area is another impressive and well-known representation of Pallava work (Pl. 12b-c). This is a rare example of the deity in metal with Pallava characteristics intermingled with Chāḷukya conventions. This was no doubt created during the period of strife between the Chāḷukyas and the Pallavas. The *yajñopavīta* is made of pearls, while the elaborate necklace and waist cord and other ornamentation clearly point to a fusion of Pallava-Chāḷukya art conventions. The presence of the *stūpa* on the crown clearly suggests the identity of the figure as Maitreya.

A miniature seated figure of Vishṇu as well as a standing one of fine workmanship and great dignity are both from the Madras Museum and belong to Pallava period. The former has the *yajñopavīta* running closely over the belly while the latter has it over the right arm (Colour Plate A and Pl. 12a). The standing figure is probably unequalled among Pallava Vishṇu images. Every little detail including the *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest, *yajñopavīta* over the arm, the bell clasp, the single long strand disappearing beneath the lower garment to appear again above the *kaṭisūtra*, the *kirīṭa*, the semi-circular median loop, the characteristic side tassels, and the *hastiśauṇḍika* mode of lower garment all go to proclaim it as a Pallava bronze. The dark patina increases its charm.

Another small seated figure with the pedestal damaged, of Pallava date, is in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Pl. 11c). It has the *yajñopavīta* over the right arm.



Plate A. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8th century A.D. Ht. 21 cms.
Government Museum, Madras. See Pl. 12a.

The simple but effective miniature figures of very early date from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, such as Siṁhanāda Avalokiteśvara (Pl. 14c), suggest the last phase of the Pallava period.

Two standing Vishṇu figures of Pallava date, once in the Madras Museum collection, but now in the Prince of Wales Museum (Pls. 14a and b), are valuable for studying the creations of the metal craftsmen who worked under the Pallavas. The taller and earlier of the two images is particularly impressive. The shorter one has the *yajñopavīta* going over the arm.

Among the most important Pallava bronzes is a unique representation of Trivikrama in metal from Śiṅganallur (Pl. 15a), which presents the figure as somewhat slim and elongate, with the *yajñopavīta* running over the right arm, the ribbon fastening for the armlets prominent on every one of the eight arms, the *antarīya* worn in the *hastiśauṇḍika* mode but with the folds arranged in conformity with the upraised left leg, and with the semi-circular loops of the *kaṭisūtra* sash inevitably narrowed down by the peculiar pose of the figure.

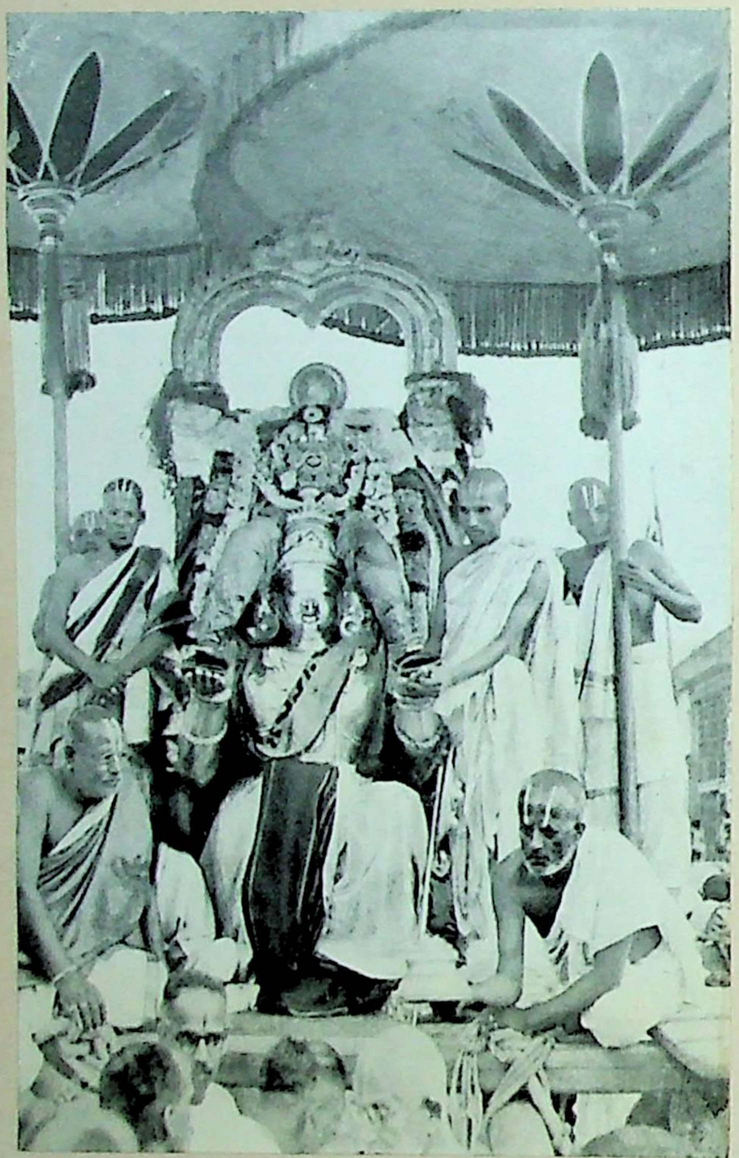


Fig. 38. Temple procession on a festival day. Note the image decked in flowers and ornaments and placed on a *vāhana*.

It is interesting to note that Pallava bronzes are generally small-sized, unlike the Choḷa images which come later. In fact even the earlier Choḷa bronzes of the transition period from Pallava to Choḷa are somewhat small. The largest bronzes are generally of later date. It is noteworthy that the largest metal images, Naṭarāja and Somāskanda, come respectively from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr and the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram temple and these bronzes are in accord with the grand proportions of the massive temples to which they belong and which were the creations of the great wealth and prosperity of Rājarāja (A.D. 985–1015) and Rājendra (A.D. 1012–1044) whose empire extended to the ends of Asia. The *utsavavigraha* or deities carried in festive procession issuing through the great *gopura* gateways were fashioned in bronze in a size to suit the gigantic proportions of the edifices in which they were housed. The student of South Indian temple architecture will at once observe that the *gopuras* and the central *vimāna* are also fashioned rather small in the Pallava period. It may be observed that the central cell was the only structure of any importance in the earliest phase, though no doubt there has been an indication of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* or the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, while the *gopuras* and the *pradakshiṇavīthīs* come into existence only about the end of the 7th century A.D. along with the

structural temple when the idea of a procession on certain days became more and more popular. Such days were *pradosha* for Śiva and *ekādaśī* for Vishṇu, apart from other festive occasions such as *ārdrā* for Śiva especially as Naṭeśa, and *ashṭamī* and *navamī* for Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa and Rāma, in addition to the annual festival *brahmotsava* for ten or twelve days. In the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, for example, the *gopura* gateway that greets the visitors on arrival is a diminutive one, not even as large as the entrance to a small cell of a shrine of later date. But in the Kailāsanātha temple, there is already a larger sized *maṇḍapa* which in dimensions and individuality exceeds the diminutive type occurring in the Mahishamardinī cave in front of the central cell at Mahābalipuram. The earlier tradition of taking the deities in procession within the temple precincts in the *pradakshiṇa-vīthī* did not require large-sized images, particularly when the temple itself was still moderate in size and the worshippers within the *vīthī* in the precincts were accordingly not so numerous as to require a large image to be seen from over an ocean of heads, as in the later day festivals and processions outside the great temples themselves (Fig. 38), necessitating occasional halts. This demand for the processional image to be seen by vast congregations resulted in the coming into existence of large-sized *maṇḍapas* which mostly date from the time of that mighty emperor Rājendra Choḷa and were named *Gaṅgaikoṇḍamaṇḍapas*, now corrupted by popular usage into *Gaṅgarāmaṇḍapas*, and accepted as such by a forgetful posterity oblivious of the glory of a great king. Thus it is not surprising why the Pallava images in metal are diminutive or medium sized and only many later ones are markedly large.

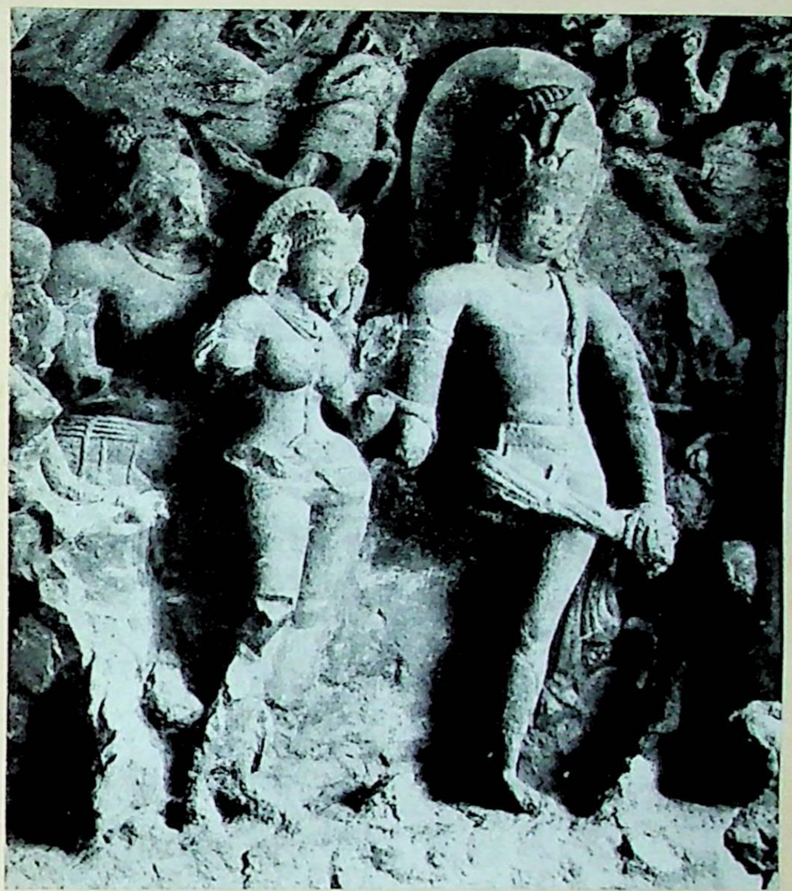


Fig. 39. Kalyāṇasundara. Vākāṭaka. 6th century A.D. Elephanta.

The image of Naṭarāja from Tiruvaraṅguḷam (Pl. 16) dancing in the *chatura* pose is unique among Naṭarājas, being the only one of its kind in that dancing pose in bronze, and represents the aesthetic sensibility of the early Choḷa *sthapati*. Here we still find Pallava characteristics but they are somewhat merged into the early Choḷa idiom. It cannot be later than the 10th century A.D.

A fine image of Vishṇu, with lingering traces of Pallava features still present, is another very early Choḷa work (Pl. 15b). It is of unusually large size and comes from the temple of Rāma at Paruttiyūr in Tañjāvūr District.

To the same period must be assigned the well-known Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruveḷvikkuḍi (Pl. 19), in which the back view vies with the front. While early Choḷa bronzes are somewhat

delicately fashioned and usually not of large size, a tradition of big figures in metal, in keeping with the huge edifices raised, was, it seems, inaugurated by the emperor Rājarāja (A.D. 985–1015) and enthusiastically followed by his son Rājendra (A.D. 1012–1044). The inscriptions of Rājarāja in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr speak eloquently of the great achievement of the Choḷa sculptor in metal, and the emperor presented to the temple several images of which minute details regarding their size and iconography are recorded. Though unfortunately many of these are lost, a few still survive to speak of the glory of early Choḷa art, in keeping with the military success of the rulers and the economic prosperity of their kingdom. Rājendra, the greater son of his great father Rājarāja, who made the Bay of Bengal a lake for the sport of his navy, prepared images worthy of the Bṛihadīśvara temple in his newly built capital Gaṅgaikoṇḍacholapuram, where not only what is probably the largest Somāskanda in metal is to be found, but also a splendid figure of Skanda as *senāpati*, the commander-in-chief of the gods, with his weapon, shield and his emblem, namely, a cock (Pl. 25b).

Among the early Choḷa bronzes where the Pallava influence persists, one of the most attractive is the exquisitely poised figure erroneously styled Mātaṅgī Devī in the collection of Gautam Sarabhai (Pl. 17). In fact it is Pārvatī from a Kalyāṇasundara group from which the principal figures have been separated, Śiva being in the Bhedwar collection. Both these bronzes are from a group of four from a Choḷa temple in Tañjāvūr District. They belong to the time when the Kalyāṇasundara form became popular like Naṭarāja, Somāskanda and Bhikshāṭana, and was fashioned in several temples. The hands of this Devī are rather peculiar, as one is in position to hold Śiva's hand in wedlock and the other, though intended to carry a *līlākamala*, or a sportive lotus, is yet different from the normal position of the hand carrying the lotus in other figures of Devī. Even her body flexions or *bhaṅgas* correspond more or less to those of the principal figure, namely, Śiva, and are in consonance with the bashful attitude of a newly married bride. Neither the supposition that the hands were in the position of holding a *vīṇā* nor the identification of the goddess as Mātaṅgī are correct.

There is no more complete Kalyāṇasundara group in any museum than the large one of this period found at Tiruveṅgāḍu and now in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 85). Here Vishṇu is shown giving his sister in marriage to Śiva by pouring water on the palm of the bridegroom in token of *kanyādāna*, while Lakshmī conducts the shy bride. It is interesting to compare this later medieval tradition of the marriage of Śiva with the magnificent early medieval panel in Elephanta cave, where the donor is Himavān himself, and Menā the mountain queen leads the bashful bride to grasp the hand of Śiva, the handsome bridegroom Kalyāṇasundara (Fig. 39).

Another early Choḷa Kalyāṇasundara from Tiruvottiyūr is seen in Pl. 21b.

The Naṭarāja from Okkūr (Pl. 22a) with its Pārvatī (Pl. 22b) is an early piece showing the utmost simplicity in workmanship. The outspread *jaṭās*, four on each side, are arranged so far apart from one another that the figure assumes the character of folk art, as in the case of Chandraśekhara from Settipālam in the Madras Museum. Related to Pl. 22a. in style, and particularly in the *prabhā* with sharply vertical sides of the *prabhā* arch, is the more elegant early Choḷa Naṭeśa from Śivapuram, with its elaborate *jaṭās* (Pl. 84).

The Naṭarāja from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Pl. 24) is undoubtedly a classic example and the best known image of its kind in any public museum in the world. The poise of this figure, its rhythmic movement, the flexions of the body and limbs, the perfect symmetry of physical proportions and the flowing contours are all blended into a composition so amazing that it is no wonder that Rodin, the world famous sculptor, considered this to be the most perfect representation of rhythmic movement in the world. But there are other masterpieces, less easily accessible than the

exhibits in public museums. We find neglected treasures in almost unfrequented temples in out-of-the-way villages in which the district of Tañjāvūr abounds, which rank among the finest creations of the metal sculptor's imagination.

The not so well known large Naṭarāja in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr (Pl. 23) is another great masterpiece, a worthy processional deity befitting the mighty temple erected by the emperor Rājarāja and presented by him to this shrine along with other images.

Another fine example of Naṭarāja is in the hall of the dance at Chidambaram, the holiest of all temples of Naṭarāja. But it is always flower-adorned and covered with jewels and garments, and no more than the face, hands and feet can be seen, as is usual with all bronzes in worship in temples.

The Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī from the Konerirājapuram temple are of gigantic size like those from Kunnāṇḍārkoil (Pl. 26). Yet another early image of the divine dancer is from the Śīyāḻi temple (Pl. 27a).

Sometimes Naṭeśa is shown without the *prabhā*, though normally it is always present. The Naṭarāja from Velānkaṇṇi in the Madras Museum is a refined image of the latter type (Pl. 27b), while Naṭeśa from Puṅganūr (Pl. 28a) in the same museum is an example of Naṭarāja without the *prabhā*. In the collection of S. Y. Krishnasvami is yet another example of an early Choḷa Naṭeśa without a *prabhā*.



Fig. 40 Gajāntaka. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Airāvateśvara temple. Dārāsuram, Tañjāvūr District.

Amongst the early Choḷa images of Naṭarāja there is a type showing the dancing figure with more than normal simplicity, with the *jaṭās* not swirling at a tangent on either side with great velocity but flowing on the back (Pl. 28b). The leg is lifted up slightly and not raised to the extent usually seen in Naṭarāja figures. A pair of *gaṇas* is present, seated one on either side to keep time, and these *gaṇas* seem lost in admiration of the rhythmic movement of the god keeping time with their musical beat. This unique figure from Melaperumbaḷḷam with its Devī as the consort Śivakāmasundarī were acquired as treasure trove by the Madras Government Museum over twenty-four years ago.

One of the latest acquisitions of the Madras Museum is a group of early Choḷa images representing Tripurāntaka and Tripurasundarī (Pl. 29a). Its importance lies in the consort



Fig. 41. Sītā's coiffure. From a Rāma group. Early Choḷa. A.D. 1000. Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras (See Pl. 40b).

of Tripurāntaka being found along with him, which is rare. The sculptures of Tripurāntaka and Tripurasundarī in stone from Koḍumbāḷur, now in the Madras Museum, are similarly important. A rare Ardhanārīśvara that can be compared with similar ones in stone from Kumbakoṇam, Koḍumbāḷur and Śrīnivāsanallur has been acquired as treasure trove and very recently arrived in the Madras Museum (Pl. 29a and Frontispiece).

Ardhanārīśvara figures are rare, but rarer still is a complete group consisting of Ardhanārīśvara with Devī's hand resting on the head of the bull Nandi. A complete figure, comparable to the Tiruveṅgāḍu bronze recently acquired by the Madras Museum, is the bronze from Melakaḍambūr (Pl. 98). It is a 12th century image of the early phase of Late Choḷa workmanship showing Śiva resting his hand on Nandi's head. The Nandi is beaming with joy, licking its nose with its tongue. There is a subtle contrast in the anatomical contour of the male and the female half. The garment of Pārvatī with patterns worked on it, the multicoiled anklet and the *pādasara*, are all fashioned with skill.

An interesting confirmation of Rājendra's conquest of Bengal comes from this temple, which houses a Pāla Naṭarāja dancing on Vṛishabha with the *gaṇas* all about similarly dancing including Gaṇeśa and Skanda. The image (Pl. 100a) speaks well for taste of the emperor, who brought this bronze from Bengal. It invites comparison with the famous stone sculpture in the Dacca Museum from Śaṅkarbandha.

The image of Gajāntaka from Vaḷuvūr (Pl. 92b) is probably the rarest of its kind, more striking than even its sculptural representations in the Airāvateśvara temple at Dārāsuram (Fig. 40). The powerful poise, the erect frame, the disposition of the hands, the head of the elephant trampled under foot with its hide arranged all around as a background, the heroic look on the God's face contrasted with the wonderment of the *gaṇas* on either side, make this composition a notable example of early Choḷa craftsmanship.



Fig. 42. Vishṇu. Early Choḷa. *C.* A.D. 1000. Ht. 83 cm. Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras. (See Pl. 42a).

The Choḷas were great patrons of music and dance. Śiva not only as Lord of Dance but also of music has been represented in the metal images of this art-conscious period. Several Vīṇādharas are in the Madras Government Museum while many others exist in the temples, such as that from the shrine at Tiruppuraṁbiyam in the Tañjāvūr District and now in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery. It is a striking example of very early Choḷa work and may belong to the transitional period from Pallava to Choḷa (Pl. 31).

There is a Vīṇādhara of early Choḷa date in the Musée Guimet (Pl. 38a) which bears resemblance to the Vīṇādhara Dakshiṇāmūrti No. 2 in the Madras Museum (Pl. 38b), while the slender early Vīṇādhara from Belur, encrusted all over, also in the Madras Museum, is another noteworthy Vīṇādhara image.

Comparable to the Pallava Tripurāntaka of the Gautam Sarabhai collection is the image of the same form of Śiva from the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr, and now preserved in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 33a). It is of early Choḷa date, being a gift of Rājarāja himself and depicts a different and rare variety of the Tripurāntaka form. It is four-armed, with the left leg resting on the dwarf Apasmāra and the face slightly tilted looking with defiance at the mighty demons whom he attacked.

There are two notable bronzes of early Choḷa date, one from Tiruveḷvikkuḍi (Pl. 32a) and the other from Tiruviḍaimarudūr (Pl. 34). The former is the earlier of the two suggesting the memories of an earlier tradition. The latter is a Tripurāntaka while the former is known as Kirātamūrti in the temple to which it belongs, probably for some valid reason. As it is difficult to be too dogmatic in the identification of some of the figures of Tripurāntaka, Kirātamūrti and Vīṇādharadakshiṇāmūrti, the nomenclature may be accepted. But the identification of the early Kirātamūrti from the temple at Tiruveṭkalam near Chidambaram is free from doubt.

A seated Śiva from Kiḷayūr (Pl. 37a), very much like Sukhāsana but originally from a Somāskanda or Umāsahita group, is now in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery. It is one of the most noteworthy of very early Choḷa images still retaining several Pallava traits. This is almost matched in date and workmanship by another standing Śiva also from Kiḷayūr (Pl. 33b). The Somāskanda of transitional Pallava to Choḷa date from Śorakkuḍi (Pl. 36b) in the Madras Museum is another interesting specimen, and the Somāskanda in the National Museum from the Treasurywala collection is very early Choḷa masterpiece (Pl. 35). Though somewhat later in



Fig. 43. Rāma group of bronzes dressed in garments. Early Choḷa. A.D. 1000. Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District. See Pl. 43b.

date, the large seated Śiva of the Umāsahita group from Tirukkovilūr (Pl. 37b) in the Madras Museum is indeed an impressive image.

One of the best of the early Choḷa Somāskandas was in the temple of Pallavanīśvarasvāmi in Pallavanīśvaram (Pl. 99). But today the group is incomplete, for what is left now is Devī seated with Skanda. The very name of the temple and village indicates Pallava associations; and this bronze is clearly of the transitional period from Pallava to Choḷa with greater affinity to the Choḷa idiom as seen in 9–10th century early Choḷa sculpture. The unconventional pose of Devī with her right leg lifted up and bent on the seat recalling similar Pallava figures, the presence of the lotus in her hand, and the little boy Skanda seated in a natural way, almost lost in a reverie, in nearly the same fashion as in Pallava groups of Somāskanda, all suggest a very early date.

In keeping with the dimensions of the Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram temple built by Rājendra is a very large bronze representing Somāskanda. It is characteristic of what might be termed the titanic period of metalwork in South India. The image of Somāskanda at Tiruvālur, which by tradition represents the perfection of the Somāskanda form in Choḷa art in metal, is even finer than the Somāskanda from Nīḍūr (Pl. 36a) in the Madras Museum. It is popularly styled Tyāgarāja but is really the Somāskanda form in that ancient Choḷa temple which, along with that of Naṭarāja at Chidambaram, were the temples of personal attachment and devotion to the Choḷa royal house. Another early Somāskanda was formerly in the Srinivasa Gopalachari collection (Pl. 76a).

The group of large bronzes representing Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān from Vaḍakkupaṇayūr (Pls. 40–41) in the Madras Museum, which is famous for beauty of form, displays

restraint in ornamentation and decoration and has a certain austere simplicity. The princely countenances of Rāma (Pl. 40a) and Lakshmaṇa (Pl. 41a), the youthful, charming figure of Sītā (Pl. 40b) with flower bedecked jewelled braid arranged with infinite artistic patience (Fig. 41), and the devoted monkey god whose adoration of Rāma is suggested by the poise of his body (Pl. 41b) almost defy description. Similarly the image of Vishṇu with consorts from Peruntoṭṭam (Pl. 42a) is a notable group affording a comparison with other groups of images in the Madras Museum.

The Rāma, Lakshmaṇa, Sītā and Hanumān from the Paruttiyūr temple (Pl. 43b and Fig. 43) also of this period, invites comparison with the Vaḍakkupaṇayūr group.

A Kāliya-Kṛishṇa of early Choḷa date and refined workmanship, yet with traces of earlier Pallava traditions, is in the N.Y. Sastri collection (Pl. 44b). The Pārvatī from the Freer Gallery of Art is also suggestive of a very early Choḷa date (Pl. 44a).



Fig. 44. Gaṇeśa. Early Choḷa. *C.* A.D. 1000. Ht. 42 cms. Koḍikarai. Government Museum, Madras.

A Chandraśekhara belonging to the early period is from the collection of the Dharmapuram-ādhīnam in Tañjāvūr District (Pl. 45a). A similar image, important from the point of view of artistry and iconography and with several early features still present, pointing definitely to an early date near about the transitional period from Pallava to early Choḷa, is the Brahmaśāstā image of Skanda or Subrahmaṇya wearing his usual *chhannavīra*, *vaikakshyaka*, and carrying both the *śakti* and *akshamālā* in his upper arms, from the temple of Kiḷayūr in the Tañjāvūr District (Pl. 45b).

Another early Choḷa bronze is the seated Aiyanār with an axe in the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 46b). The Gaṇeśa with natural elephant's head from Veḷānkaṇṇi (Pl. 46a) along with the one from Settipālam represent the early Gaṇeśa type. The Choḷa Gaṇeśa from the Trivandrum Museum (Pl. 49b) also belongs to this category though definitely later in date, while another of early date but representing another category of Gaṇeśa images, is the Choḷa Gaṇeśa from Koḍikarai (Fig. 44) in the Madras Government Museum. This has its trunk vertical as it should be, but curled towards the end around the sweet *modaka*.

While aesthetically the best early Kālī is of the Von der Heydt collection (Pl. 100b), of high importance is the Kālī from Śenniyanviḍudi (Pl. 48b) with an inscription on the pedestal. The early features of the image are all in keeping with the palaeography of the inscription, which

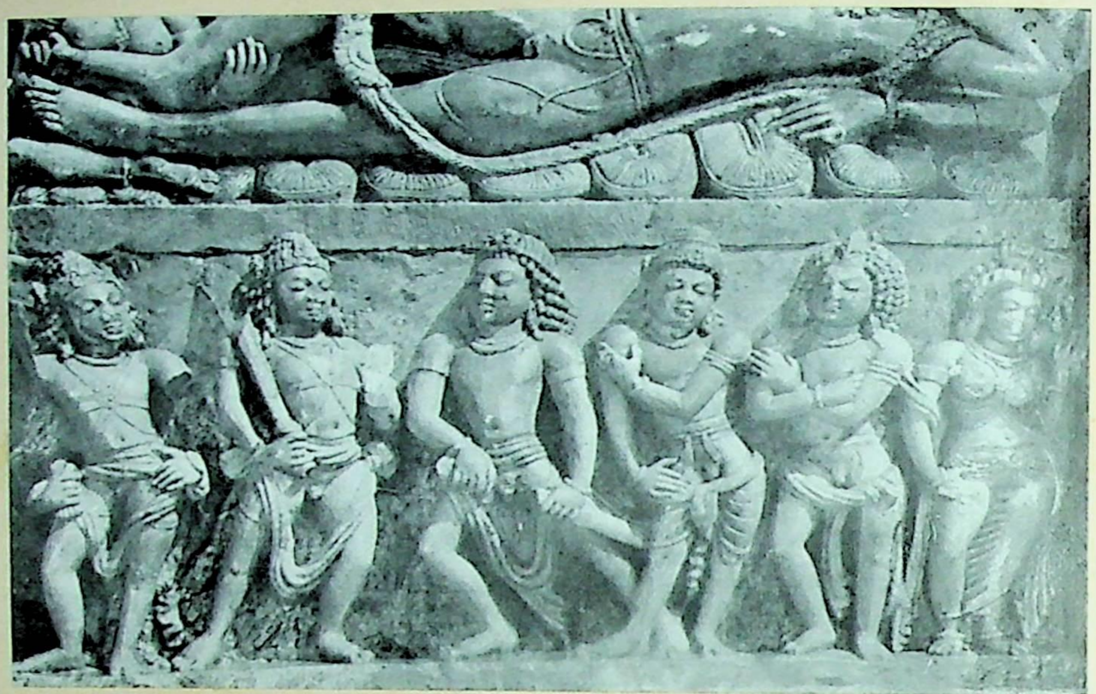


Fig. 45. Personified weapons of Vishṇu fighting Madhu and Kaiṭabha: note the wheel Sudarśana with a wheel on his head.

points to the 11th century A.D. Equally important is the Choḷa Chandraśekhara from the Musée Guimet (Pl. 49a) with an inscription on its pedestal, the palaeography of which suggests the 11–12th century A. D. The Māheśvarī of the same collection (Pl. 47a) should be studied along with the still larger Māheśvarī almost similar in details now in the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 48a).

The Mahishamardinī of early Choḷa date in the Madras Government Museum (Pl. 50) is a rare specimen of which a miniature is in the possession of N. Y. Sastri.

The Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti with Devī in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Colour Plate B and Pl. 86) is one of the great achievements of early Choḷa date, with Śiva's hair dressed up in peculiar *ushṇīsha* fashion as *jaṭābhāra*, his hand in the attitude of resting on the bull as he stands at ease with his right leg crossed against the left. The Devī comprising this group is in keeping with the Vṛishavāhana. To properly comprehend the full complement of a Vṛishavāhana group, the late Choḷa image with Devī and Nandi bull from Vedāraṇyam (Pl. 51) should be studied.

A remarkable early Choḷa Vṛishavāhanamūrti (Pl. 97), and the most complete as a group with the bull and Devī intact on its own pedestal, is from the Akshyaliṅgasvāmi temple at Kīḻvelūr. There is a smile on the face of Śiva and the *jaṭās* bound up almost as a turban in shapely form, are matched by the *bhaṅgas* of Devī. Nandi, decked with trappings, smacks his nose with his tongue in a joyous outburst.

Of similar importance is the Bhikshāṭana, the naked beggar, his hand fondling the deer approaching him (Pl. 87). This is one of the finest Bhikshāṭanas in any museum collection. Equally noteworthy is the iconographically important multi-armed Bhairava in the same art gallery (Pl. 52b). All these were recovered from Tiruveṅgāḍu.

Among the early Chaṇḍikeśvaras in the Madras Museum, there is none to equal those from Veḷānkaṇṇi (Pl. 54a) and Okkūr (Pl. 53a), which vie in the attitude of devotion with the

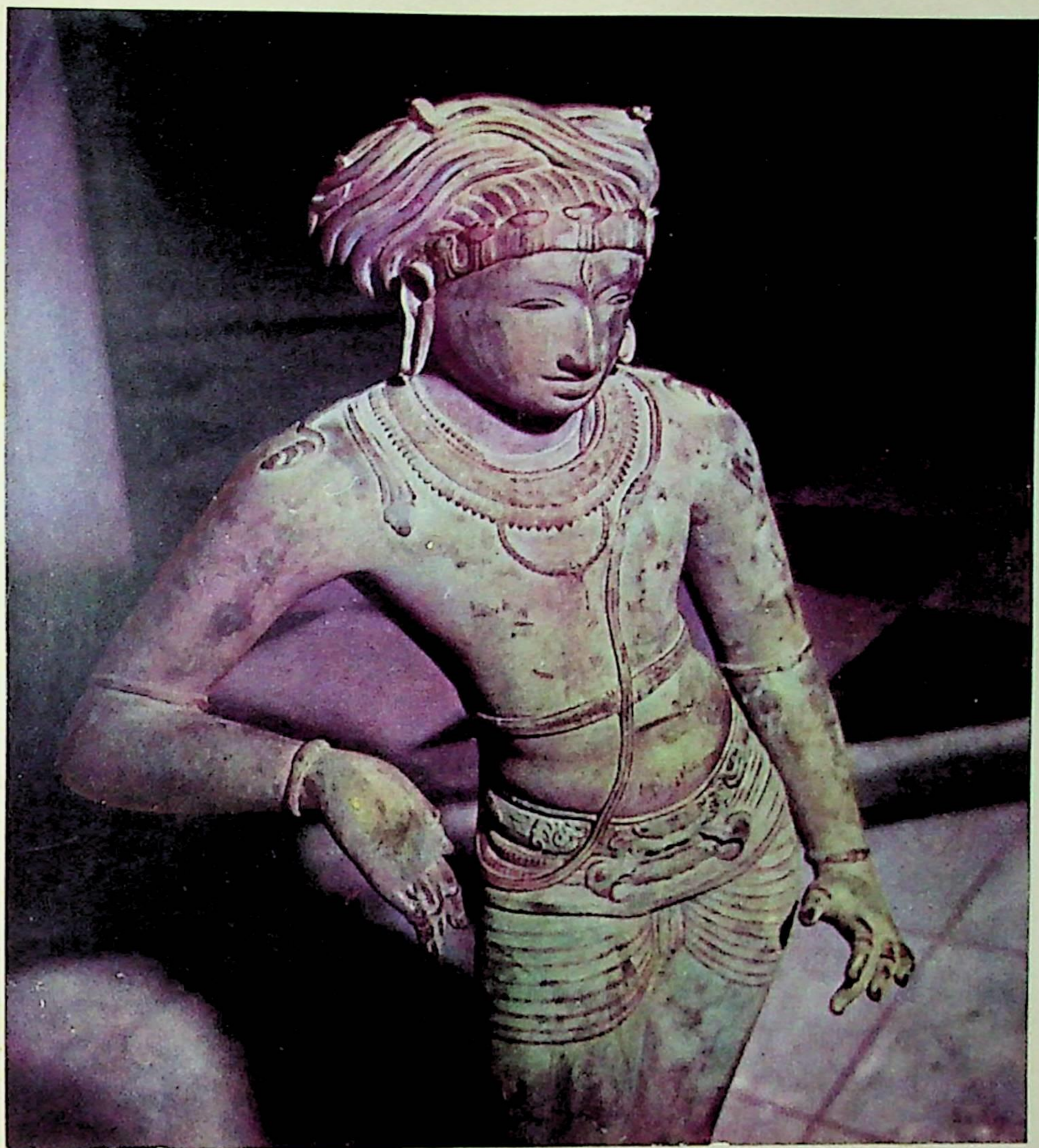


Plate B. Śiva Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti. Detail in colour from Pl. 86. Choḷa. 1011-1012 A.D. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery.

early Choḷa image, so simply wrought, of Kaṇṇappa (Pl. 53b), the hunter saint from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu and the Chaṇḍikeśvara from Belūr (Pl. 54b) with an axe in one hand and the other hand placed near the mouth in *ardhāñjali* in the attitude of a respectful attendant.

Sūrya from Hariśchandrapuram (Pl. 55a) in the Madras Museum collection is a rare bronze, as this along with the image from Sūryanār temple are amongst the very few images of Sūrya known. The Sūrya from the Colombo Museum (Pl. 55b) is another important Sūrya image of similar date and workmanship.

The boy saint Tirujñānasambandar (Pl. 56b), Māṇikkavāchaka (Pl. 56c) and Sundara (Pl. 57a), all from the Colombo Museum, constitute an important collection of Tamil saints representing the late phase of early Choḷa art. The Māṇikkavāchaka (Pl. 57b) in the National



Fig. 46. Dvārapāla. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Bṛihadīśvara Temple, Tañjāvūr District.

Museum is of somewhat later date and should be assigned to the 12th century.

The Pārvatī image in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is an early Choḷa example (Pl. 58) while the seated Pārvatī from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Pl. 59a) is to be counted amongst the finer representations of this form of Devī along with another from the Bhedwar collection (Pl. 59b).

Among the recent acquisitions in the Madras Museum are the slender early Choḷa images of Chandraśekhara (Pl. 60a) and Pārvatī (Pl. 60b), somewhat austere in their decorative features, and a Chaṇḍikeśvara in *tribhanga* pose (Pl. 61a).

The collection of Buddhist images from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam in the Madras Museum includes a fairly large early Choḷa seated Buddha flanked by Nāgarāja *chaurī*-bearers (Pl. 62a), the importance of which is equalled only by a miniature Siṁhanāda of Pallava date (Pl. 14c), the large standing very early Choḷa Buddha (Pl. 62b), the Choḷa Tārā and the late Choḷa Vasudhārā-Jambhala.

Three more remarkable Buddhist metal images are from Kadiri and belong to the transitional phase of early to late Choḷa art. The *ajina-yajñopavīta* worn by Avalokiteśvara (Pl. 63a), his upper hands in *kartarīmukha*, free without weapons, and one of the lower hands in *chinmudrā*, are specially noteworthy. The hands free of weapons is a characteristic surviving from late Pallava sculptural work as in the Satyamaṅgalam figures in the Madras Museum, while *chinmudrā* is a characteristic of a holy preceptor such as Dakshiṇāmūrti. The *vyākhyānamudrā* in the case of Buddha (Pl. 63b) is also similarly significant as it replaces the *dharmachakra-pravartanamudrā* in the South.

The inscribed Chandraśekhara from the Musée Guimet (Pl. 49a), important for the mention of its shrine and purpose as the processional image *Śrībalieḻundaruḷun devar* of the Phalabharīśvara temple in the village of Arumoḻidevapura is a characteristic example of late Choḷa work of the 12th century. Close to this in several respects is the Chandraśekhara from the Haridas Swali collection, Bombay (Pl. 61b). Two very interesting bronzes of this late phase of Choḷa art are Sudarśana (Pl. 64a) and Kaumodakī (Pl. 64b), the personified wheel and club of Vishṇu with the weapons on the head following an earlier tradition of the wheel on the head at Deogarh (Fig. 45), in keeping with which there is the Śaiva weapon *śūla* on the head of the Choḷa *dvārapālas* at Tañjāvūr in the Bṛihadīśvara temple (Fig. 46). The usual feminine form of Kaumodakī is here transformed into masculine. Even finer than the late Choḷa representations



Fig. 47. Kaṅkālamūrti. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Dārāsuram, Tañjāvūr District.



Fig. 48. Kaṅkālamūrti. Pallava. Late 7th century A.D. Locality unknown, probably Kāñchīpuram. S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari collection, National Museum of India, New Delhi.

of *śūla* in the Madras Museum, which are distinguished by the figures of Śiva (Pl. 65b) and Durgā (Pl. 65a) fashioned right on the weapon itself, is the *śūla* of Śiva in the Musée Guimet.

Another important image is that of Sundaramūrti from the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery (Pl. 67). The Aiyanār on an elephant with attendant figures behind (Pl. 47b), to the back in the Madras Museum, also noteworthy. But the best Aiyanār is the fine early Choḷa image (Pl. 46b).

The grace of early Choḷa art with characteristic patterns decorating her garment is seen in the Annapūrṇā of the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 66a-b), Reṇukā or Lakshmī from the same collection (Pl. 68b), and Pārvatī from the Haridas Swali collection (Pl. 68a). The Annapūrṇā is particularly graceful with its elaborate *dhammilla* coiffure (Pl. 66a-b).

Later Choḷa bronzes are represented by quite a number of examples which rank high as fine images, such as Bhikshāṭanas, Pradoshamūrtis (Pl. 69a), Naṭeśas (Pls. 69b and 70a), Pārvatīs, Vishṇus (Pl. 71a), Kāliya-Kṛishṇas, Bālakṛishṇas, Kṛishṇa with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā and

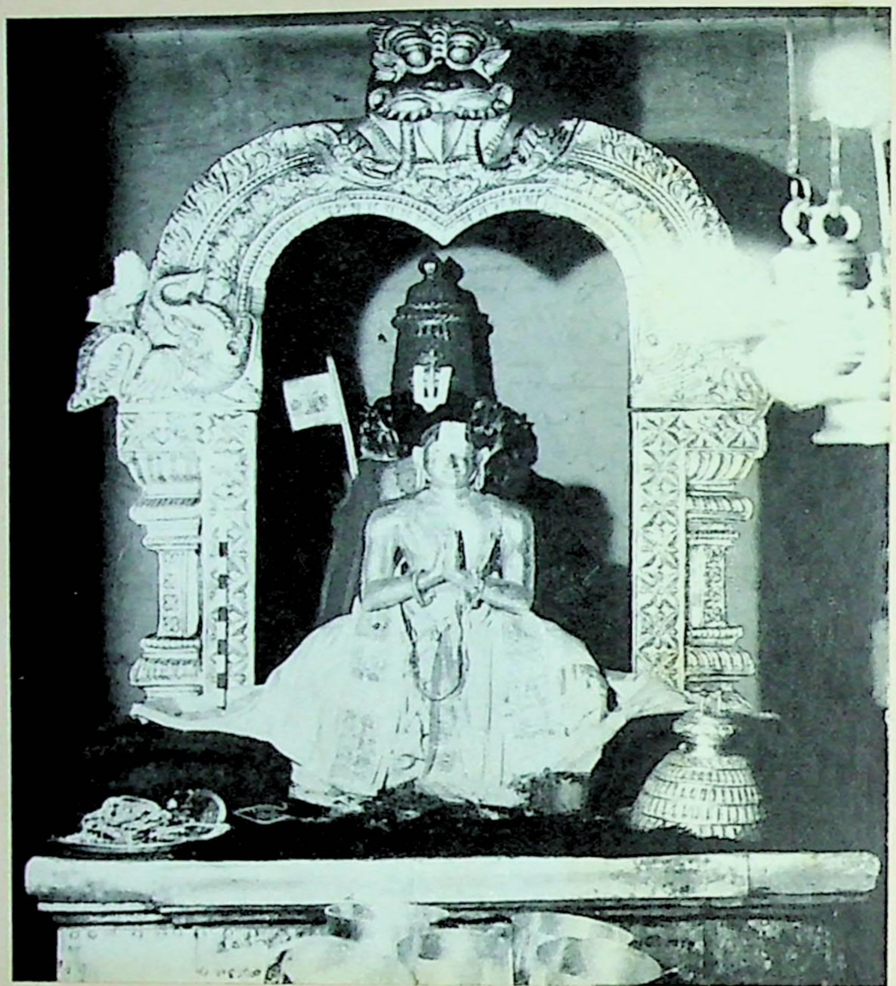


Fig. 49. Śrī Rāmānuja. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D.
Śrīperumbūdūr, Chingleput District.

so forth. Others in the Tañjāvūr Art Gallery show how still the Choḷa craftsmen have sought to retain the artistic skill of the earlier phase, as seen in examples such as Vishṇu, Kālī and Durgā, which approach the early Choḷa masterpieces (Pls. 71b, 72a, 72b).

The Veṇugopāla from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam (Pl. 73a) and the devotee from the Gautam Sarabhai collection (Pl. 66c), the Somāskanda from Vaidīśvarankoil, the Yoganarasiṁha (Pl. 74a) earlier than the one from Mañjakkuḍi (Pl. 74b), Vishṇu with consorts from Śrinivāsanallur in the Madras Museum, are examples typical of late Choḷa workmanship.

Most interesting for its special iconographic traits is the two-armed Vishṇu from Komal with *śaṅkha* and *chakra* on the palms of the hands and prominent *vanamālā* (Pl. 76b). So also is Adhikāranandī with his consort (Pls. 75a and 94b).

Of iconographic interest is Kaṅkāla (Pl. 75b), a rare bronze in the Madras Museum with late Choḷa features but far inferior to the image from Dārāsuram (Fig. 47); but the total change in this concept during the centuries is seen, as in Gaṅgādhara, by comparing (Pl. 75b) with the Pallava version of Rājasimha's time (Fig. 48).

The late Pallava bronze figures have their parallels in the Chera country and the two splendid early Vishṇus from the Trivandrum Museum (Pl. 77a and b) have their own story to



Fig. 50. Narasiṁha. Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. Srirangam, Tiruchirapalli District.

tell of Pallava influence coupled with that of the Chāḷukyas, who made inroads into the Chera territory, as well as some Pāṇḍya influence. These bronzes should be dated in the 9th century A.D. and closely follow the characteristics already noted in the early Pallava figures. Later Chera bronzes show profuse decorative tendencies (Pl. 94a) which are noticed in wood work, stone carvings and paintings of the late medieval period.

The Pāṇḍyas closely followed Pallava traditions and the magnificent Pāṇḍyan rock-cut shrines at Kaḷugumalai and the several early cave temples like those at Tirumalaipuram, Tiruparaṅkunram, Sendamaram, Chokkampaṭṭi etc. illustrate this Pallava influence. In the Choḷa period the Choḷa inroads into Pāṇḍyan territory had even greater effects on Pāṇḍyan art, which closely follows the Choḷa idiom. We have thus the unique image of Naṭarāja from Poruppumeṭṭupaṭṭi (Pl. 78), acquired by the Madras Museum, which is singular in showing Śiva dancing with the right leg raised instead of the left one, as is usually the case in Choḷa Naṭarājas.

This Pāṇḍyan form is peculiar to the *rajatasabhā* or the silver hall of the dance at Madurai, while the normal form is for the *kanakasabhā ponnambalam*, the golden hall at Chidambaram. The one is the glory of the Pāṇḍyas while the other is the glory of the Choḷas.

The ancient temple of the Trinity known as Tirumūrtisthala in Koḍumuḍi in Coimbatore District enshrines Vishṇu styled there as Vīranārāyaṇa and Śiva as Tiruppāṇḍi-Koḍumuḍi Āḷuḍaiyar. Among the bronzes[1] here of this type are very interesting specimens representing Naṭeśa in the *lalita* attitude (Pl. 90), Tripurāntaka with his consort Tripurasundarī (Pl. 89) and Vishṇu (Pl. 91). These images are of great importance in a study of South Indian metal images, as the former is a rare instance of Śiva in the *lalita* dance mode in bronze and the latter is a fine and complete group of Tripurāntaka with consort accompanied by an attendant. Tripurāntaka wears the *yajñopavīta* over the arm in late Pallava fashion though the image belongs to a distinctly later date suggesting the survival of this mode with the *sthapatis* for more than a century on the border of the Pāṇḍya-Choḷa kingdoms in a period of flux. These images with several early

[1] These important bronzes were brought to light by Shri R. Nagaswami, Curator, Archaeological Section, Madras Government Museum, and discussed in his interesting paper "Rare Bronzes from the Koṅgu Country," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 9, pp. 7-10, frontispiece and pls. I-III.



Fig. 51. *Snānapīṭha* or bathing pedestal for bronze images. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.

characteristics and recalling an affinity with the Poruppumeṭṭupaṭṭī Naṭeśa may be of the early Choḷa period with local Pāṇḍyan affinities.

The early traditions that have travelled beyond India to Ceylon corroborate the close link between the peninsula and the island so often recorded in inscriptions and literature. The Choḷa art of this country has given to Ceylon a magnificent series of early and late Choḷa bronzes which are an eloquent testimony to the ramification of Choḷa art. The images of Sūrya (Pl. 55b), Naṭarāja, Sundara (Pl. 57a), Māṇikkavāchaka (Pl. 56c), Appar (Pl. 56a) and the baby saint Tirujñānasambandar (Pl. 56b) are all masterpieces.

There are good examples of the early Vijayanagara period bordering on late Choḷa such as the images of Yaśodā-Kṛishṇa (Pl. 79a) from the Madras Museum collection and the dancing Bālasubrahmaṇya (Pl. 79b), characterised by the charm of its decorative treatment.

Among the Vijayanagara bronzes, which are very prolific, there is quite a degree of stylisation (Pl. 80a and b) which at later times becomes more and more pronounced and leads to a mechanical output. No better bronzes can be thought of as typical of the Vijayanagara period than the royal portrait figures in the Tirumalai temple on the hill of Tirupati (Pl. 82a). The descendents of the sculptors who portrayed Kulottuṅga (Pl. 20b) and Choḷamā Devī (Pl. 20c), the magnificent Choḷa royal portraits at Kālahasti, the Choḷa royal devotee (Pl. 81a), the Choḷa queen (Pl. 81b) and the remarkable figure of the devotee known as Kolaga Ṛishi from Koḍikarai (Pl. 82b), and who prepared the life-like metallic portrait of Śrī Rāmānuja (Fig. 49) still to be seen at Śrīperumbūdūr, could still fashion with great vigour magnificent portraits. The large-sized images of the emperor Kṛishṇadevarāya and his consorts, one on either side of him with the names inscribed, their hands clasped in adoration of the deity, on the Tirumalai mountain, and that of Achyutarāya in similar devotional attitude, are probably among the finest bronzes of that period, apart from being excellent portrait studies. That period abounds in portrait studies, and king Tirumala Nāyak of Madurai is represented in numerous portraits in stone and ivory. That the vigour of the earlier tradition is not totally lost even in the Vijayanagara period, can be seen from such figures as the Kālāntakamūrti from Tirukkaḍayūr (Pl. 96a). It aids us to understand the progress of artistic and iconographical traditions, as it represents the transitional period from late Choḷa to Vijayanagara. A similar image is Kāliya-Kṛishṇa from Sundaraperumālkoil in Tañjāvūr District (Pl. 83b). This is a period in which some remarkable iconographic forms, representations of which are rare in the earlier centuries, become more frequent, and we have images such as Heraṁbagaṇapati from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam with five faces and eight arms riding a lion (Pl. 96c), and Narasiṁha from Srirangam with sixteen arms tearing open the stomach of Hiraṇyakaśipu (Fig. 50). Such images as of Veṇugopāla with sixteen arms or Kṛishṇa multi-armed dancing on Kāliya in the fashion of Naṭeśa are concepts never occurring in earlier periods but which are not infrequent in this late period.

The art of making bronzes continued to be patronised by the Nāyaks (Pl. 96b) and even



Fig. 52. Bhutavāhana. Nāyak. 17th century A.D. Mīnākshīsundareśvara temple, Madurai.

later by the Maratha rulers and till recently by several pious and wealthy devotees. The art of the *sthapati* or the metalworker, though degenerated, is not altogether dead in South India where still the tradition of preparing these images is kept alive by craftsmen who linger on today earning a precarious livelihood as this great art has unfortunately now no pious devotees or grand patrons. It is hoped that there would be new life infused in the *sthapatis* to revive this art and give it a worthy place in the cultural life of India as it richly deserves.

With the elaboration of ritual and temple festivity in the Choḷa period, several adjuncts for worship increased in importance. In this period artistic bathing pedestals were fashioned for elaborately bathing the images with perfumed water and various unguents, sandal paste, milk, honey and so forth, and the *tirumañjanapīṭham* (bathing pedestal) became a work of art supported by squatting lions such as the Pallava ones supporting pillars. An excellent example of this of the Choḷa period (Fig. 51) shows how well the metalworker fashioned these *snānapīṭhas* (bathing pedestals). Sometimes even the *makaramukha* gargoyles as water outlets of the bathing pedestal were elaborated.

So also *kavachas* (armour-like plates) of thin metal plate gilt with gold and silver and covered over with delicate artistic carving were fashioned for covering almost the whole of the stone figure under worship in the central cell in the temple, leaving open just the face. These served as an artistic covering for the carvings. In the Vijayanagara period these motifs became more elaborate and we have several from all over the South, particularly noteworthy being the ones from the Śrīśailam temple in Kurnool District. Some well wrought *kavachas* of Aiyanār and other deities in the highly ornate Chera style of the late medieval period may be seen in the Trivandrum Museum.

Such *kavachas* were used also as artistic covering for door jambs, lintels etc. and often elaborated into imposing *tiruvāśis* or arch decorations issuing from the mouths of *makaras* on either side over the door lintel of the principal cell of the temple. Gold gilt and lit up with blazing lights during the evening worship, they produce a wonderful effect. The doorsteps with figures of devoted donors in the attitude of supplication implied the humble dedication of their bodies to be eternally placed on the doorstep so that the feet of the devotees who thronged the shrine for worship could touch these effigies and purify them. Late Choḷa examples of such steps are known in several temples and a good example exists in the Madras Museum.

During the evening worship some of the lamps are waved including the *nakshatrahārati* (twenty-seven lamps in one), *ekahārati* (lamp with one wick), *trivartihārati* (lamp with three wicks), *pañchahārati* (lamp with five wicks), *navahārati* (lamp with nine wicks) etc. and *dīpavṛikshas* or lamp-trees also lit up the halls in the temple. References to them in very early literature prove their antiquity, and stone carving of *dīpavṛikshas* such as those at Banavasi near Bijapur are known in the Chāḷukya area. The metallic *dīpavṛiksha* in the South goes back to the Pallava period and we find examples of it in sculpture at Borobudur.

The dressing up of the bronze images for festivals with ornaments, flower garlands, silken garments and so on entailing the safe custody of the valuable jewellery, led to the making of fine boxes in metal, of which an early example of the Choḷa period from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu with decorative work all over is now preserved in the Madras Museum.

The bronzes were carried during the festivals on *vāhanas* of different variety. Some of the *vāhanas* are found in ancient temples all over the South, many of them being excellent specimens of wood carving in heroic size; sometimes they were metal-covered and gold-gilt (Fig. 52); and this became a regular feature in the Vijayanagara and Nāyak periods. We have noteworthy examples in the *vāhanas* of the Mīnākshī temple at Madurai.

The car festival was the most elaborate of all. And woodcarving at its best is seen in the tiers of carved panels adorning the chariot of the God moving in stately grandeur, dominating the scene wherever it stood in the streets of the town or village as the deity moved along during the annual festivals, thus affording personal contact to his devotees and filling with joy the folk that were in his care.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

1a. *Female figurine probably representing a Mother Goddess.* The earliest proto-historic bronze from South India of the iron age.

C. B.C. 1000. Ādichanallur, Tirunelveli District, South India (Ht. 7 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

1b. *Elephant with riders.* It is a unique example of Sātavāhana art recalling the representation of *mithunas* on elephants from the *chaitya*-pillar capitals in Karle. The riders on elephants in the Bagh cave paintings closely resembling this would show the influence of this Sātavāhana motif centuries later.

Sātavāhana. 2nd century A.D. (Ht. 5 cms.). Kolhapur Museum.

1c. *Buddha.* An early bronze of the Amarāvatī school showing that the tradition in stone work is also observed in metal in similar form. Amarāvatī was a great centre of stone and metal-work like Mathurā in the Kushāṇa period in the north and several bronzes of the Amarāvatī school have been found in Ceylon, Malaya and other places as far as Borneo.

Late Sātavāhana. 3rd century A.D. (Ht. 43.5 cms). Government Museum, Madras.

1d. *Buddha.* This closely resembles similar figures from Amarāvatī that have been found in Malaya and other places.

Amarāvatī school. 3rd century A.D. (Ht. 54.5 cms.). Badulla, Colombo Museum.

2a. *Prince with a bow, probably Rāma.* This is an important recent find from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, probably representing Rāma, the ancestor of the Ikshvākus. It could also be Siddhārtha, but probably Siddhārtha has never been shown in a sculpture with a bow except in the scene of the archery contest for winning Yaśodharā depicted at Borobudur. If this were Rāma, it would be the earliest representation of the hero prince.

Ikshvāku. 3rd century A.D. (Ht. 8.5 cms.). Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntur District.

2b. *Avalokiteśvara.* It is probably the earliest Pallava bronze known. This is in the Amarāvatī tradition and closely resembles the later Amarāvatī carvings in the British Museum. It appears to be of the time of the early Pallavas who issued the Prākṛit charters and whose kingdom extended up to the Kṛishṇā Valley.

Early Pallava. 5th century A.D. (Ht. 15.2 cms.). From the Kṛishṇā Valley. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

2c. *Bāhubali.* Probably a figure of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period.

Chāḷukya school. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 50.1 cms.). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay. The findspot is said to be Sravan Belgola.

3a. *Dīpalakshmī.* An example of Kākatīya art. The *dīpalakshmī* tradition has been observed from the earliest times, as there are figurines at Taxila depicting the theme. There are several examples of metal images of *dīpalakshmīs* from Western and Southern India.

Kākatīya school. 12–13th centuries A.D. (Ht. 15.5 cms.). Warangal. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

3b. *Goddess or a Jaina Yakshī.* The coiffure of this image is typical of the later phase of Western Chāḷukya art.

Western Chāḷukya. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 33 cms.). Collection of Capt. Jones, London. Now in the British Museum.

4a-b. *Veṇugopāla with consorts.* The sculpture of the Eastern Chāḷukya school indicates its provenance.

Eastern Chāḷukya. 10–11th centuries A.D. (Ht. 22.5 cms.). Chimakurti. Government Museum, Madras.

5a. *Decorative lamp-chain.* The dancing figures can be compared with Chāḷukya sculptures. An example of early Chāḷukya work.

Early Western Chāḷukya. 8th century A.D. (Lgth. 122 cms.). Jogeshvari caves, Bombay. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

5b. *Vishṇu with consorts.* An example of Gaṅga art showing several southern influences from the Eastern Chāḷukya territory to which it was subordinated for some centuries.

Eastern Gaṅga. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 32.7 cms.). National Museum of India, New Delhi.

6 and 7a. *Vishāpaharaṇa.* A great example of Pallava metal sculpture. *Yajñopavīta* flowing over the right arm and other features point to early Pallava date, except the lion-clasp on the girdle and the circular ring border touching the flower petals forming the lotus of the *śiraśchakra.*

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 62 cms.). Kīḷapuddanur, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

7b-c. *Naṭarāja.* This is important not only as a unique image of Naṭarāja in the *ūrdhvajānu* pose in metal but also as a rare specimen of a Pallava image coming from the very temple in Kūram village from which were obtained the famous Kūram plates of Parameśvaravarman I, Pallava.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 55 cms.). Kūram, Chingleput District. Government Museum, Madras.

8a-b. *Tripurāntaka.* This is a splendid example of Pallava workmanship showing this deity with only a single pair of arms. It is simple and natural and has a dignity of its own.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 64 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

9a-b. *Naṭarāja.* An important image of Naṭarāja multi-armed, which is unusual in the South, where four arms are the norm.

Pallava. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 88.3 cms.). Nallūr, Tañjāvūr District.

10a and c. *Vishṇu.* Another example of Pallava metal sculpture. All the Pallava features are easily discerned in this well-preserved image.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 21 cms.). N. Y. Sastri's collection, Adyar, Madras.

10b and d. *Vishṇu.* A Pallava image without the *yajñopavīta* over the right arm.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 25 cms.). Locality unknown. Government Museum, Madras.

11a. *Vishṇu.* Though worn, this little bronze is of special value for the study of early Pallava features in metal.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 15.2 cms.). Formerly in the collection of S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari.

11b. *Durgā.* A Pallava example of Durgā but for the later addition of two crude arms in the place of all the four lost.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 53.3 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

11c. *Vishṇu.* A seated image of Vishṇu with *yajñopavīta* over the right arm.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 16 cms.). Indian Museum, Calcutta.

12a. *Vishṇu.* A truly fine image of Vishṇu with all the Pallava features; *śrīvatsa* on the chest and patinated. See Colour Pl. A.

Pallava. 8th century A.D. (Ht. 21 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

12b-c. *Maitreya.* This shows a combination of Pallava and Chāḷukya elements of decoration.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 39.5 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

13a-b. *Somāskanda.* This Somāskanda is probably the best of its kind, resembling early Pallava figures.

Pallava-Choḷa transition. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 28 cms.). Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.

14a. *Vishṇu.* It shows all the features of Pallava workmanship and was originally in the Government Museum, Madras.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 28.8 cms.). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

14b. *Vishṇu.* The workmanship here is slightly inferior to that of 14a. It was originally in the Government Museum, Madras.

Pallava. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 17.6 cms.). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

14c. *Siṁhanāda.* A Pallava image from Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, suggesting affinities with the Indonesian school.

Pallava. 8–9th centuries A.D. (Ht. 10.3 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

15a. *Trivikrama.* An example of this form in metal with the typical *antarīya* mode of the period and the *yajñopavita* over the right arms. It is from the temple at Śiṅganallur, Coimbatore and is under worship.

Pallava. 8th century A.D. (Ht. approx. 45 cms.). Śiṅganallur, Coimbatore District.

15b. *Vishṇu.* An unusually large size of very early Choḷa date with many Pallava features.

Pallava. Early Choḷa transition. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. about 120 cms.). Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District.

16. *Naṭarāja.* An example of very early Choḷa workmanship and is unique in being the only representation in metal of Naṭarāja in the *chaturatāṇḍava* pose. Formerly in Sir S. V. Ramamurti's collection.

Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 72 cms.). Tiruvaraṅguḷam, former Pudukkoṭṭai State. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

17a-b. *Pārvatī.* An example of Devī from the Kalyāṇasundara group. One of the greatest masterpieces of early Choḷa work. Incorrectly called Mātaṅgī Devī.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 84 cms.). It was originally in the temple of Konerirājapuram, Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

18-19. *Kalyāṇasundara.* An example of Śiva's marriage in metal showing earlier Pallava tradition in early Choḷa mode. This shows an advancement in Choḷa work.

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. about 80 cms.). Tiruveḷvikkuḍi. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

20a. *Vṛishabhavāhana with consort.* A group closely resembling the Vṛishabhavāhana group in the Taṇḍantoṭṭam village.

Pallava. 8th century A.D. (Ht. 52.7 cms. and 63.5 cms.). Bhedwar collection, Bombay.

20b. *Kulottuṅga.* This famous portrait of the emperor Kulottuṅga III belongs to the late Choḷa period.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. about 38 cms.). Originally in the temple, Kālahasti.

20c. *Choḷamā Devī.* A portrait of a Choḷa queen.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. about 76 cms.). Originally in the temple, Kālahasti.

21a. *Kalyāṇasundara.* Śiva and Pārvatī from a complete group of Kalyāṇasundara with Vishṇu and Lakshmī giving away Pārvatī in marriage to Śiva.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 96.5 cms.). Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

21b. *Kalyāṇasundara.* An early image.

Early Choḷa, 11th century A.D. (Ht. 113 cms.). Tiruvottiyūr, Madras.

22a. *Naṭarāja.* An example with Pallava traditions surviving.

Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 70 cms.). Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

22b. *Śivakāmasundarī.* The consort of Naṭarāja in Early Choḷa metal sculpture.

Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 64 cms.). Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

23. *Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī.* These are the original images presented by Rājarāja the Great.
Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. about 135 cms.). Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr.

24-25a. *Naṭarāja.* A famous image which shows the most perfect representation of rhythmic dance as the sculptor Rodin felt it.
Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 114.5 cms.). Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.

25b. *Devasenāpati.* An early Choḷa image during the time of Rājendra who appropriately chose Skanda, the commander-in-chief of the gods, as his martial ideal.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 86.5 cms.). Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷapuram, Tiruchirāpalli District.

26. *Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī.*
Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. about 145 cms.). Kunnāṇḍārkoil, former Pudukkoṭṭai State.

27a. *Naṭarāja.* From the temple at the birthplace of the famous boy saint Tirujñānasambandar.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Śīyāḷī, Tañjāvūr District.

27b. *Naṭarāja.* Along with the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu image it is a famous masterpiece.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 111.3 cms.). Velānkaṇṇi. Government Museum, Madras.

28a. *Naṭarāja.* Naṭarāja without *prabhā* of early date.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 85 cms.). Puṅganūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

28b. *Naṭarāja.* An example of a simpler type with *jaṭās* treated in a different way and with attendant musical figures.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 90 cms.). Melaperumbaḷḷam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

29a. *Tripurāntaka and Tripurasundarī.* An original group.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 45 and 40 cms.). Tranquebar (Taraṅgambāḍi), Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

29b. *Ardhanārīśvara.* The finest metal image of this form. An inscription from Tiruveṅgāḍu temple assigns this image to the reign of Rājādhirāja. See Frontispiece in colour.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 100 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

30a-b. *Śiva as Vishāpaharaṇa.* This is one of the rare images from the Andhra area to illustrate Eastern Chāḷukya art. The ornamentation, mode of *antarīya*, *kaṭisūtra*, *keyūras*, flat *muktā yajñopavīta* with double-bell clasps and ribbon fastening, the large ring-shaped *patrakuṇḍala*, and the peculiarly fastened *jaṭā* all indicate the early medieval type of work in Andhra and the Eastern Chāḷukya country.
Eastern Chāḷukya. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 49 cms.). Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

31a-b. *Vīṇādhara.* An image of the transitional period from Pallava to Choḷa with several early characteristics. This is from the Tiruppuraṁbiyam temple.
Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 79 cms.). Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

32a. *Kirātamūrti.* A striking image of this form of Śiva.
Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. (Ht. 91.5 cms.). Tiruveḷvikkuḍi. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

32b. *Pārvatī.* In the best tradition of the early Choḷa period, this image appears to be the consort of the Tripurāntaka from the Bṛihadīśvara temple. It is also from the same temple.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. about 65 cms). Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

33a. *Tripurāntaka.* Presented by the emperor Rājarāja himself to the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr as recorded in the inscription on the plinth of the monument. It is one of the eight important forms of Tripurāntaka as given in the *Śilpa* text and shows the deity with his leg planted on the head of Apasmāra, suggesting the tremendous power of Tripurāntakamūrti to put down evil heroically. Dakshiṇāmūrti, with Apasmāra under his foot, puts down the evil

of ignorance. Naṭeśa trampling Apasmāra under his foot dispels all the evils of existence by the magic of his mighty dance, the supreme amongst the fine arts.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 86.5 cms.). Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

33b. *Tripurāntakamūrti.* A very early image that should come close in point of time to the seated Śiva at Kiḷayūr.

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 76 cms.). Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

34. *Tripurāntaka.* A large imposing image showing Choḷa art at its best.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 109 cms.) Tiruviḍaimarudūr. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

35. *Somāskanda.* This famous image was formerly in the Treasurywala collection.

Early Choḷa. Later half of the 10th century A.D. (Ht. 57 cms.). National Museum of India, New Delhi.

36a. *Somāskanda.* This Somāskanda is one of the finest specimens of early Choḷa art and surpassed only by the transitional period image from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the Madras Museum.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 50 cms.). Nīḍūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

36b. *Somāskanda.* An important image of the transitional period in the Government Museum, Madras.

Pallava-Choḷa transition. Early 10th century A.D. (Ht. 48.3 cms.). Śorakkuḍi. Government Museum, Madras.

37a. *Sukhāsana.* Seated Śiva with lingering Pallava idiom.

Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 76 cms.). Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

37b. *Śiva from Umāsahita group.* One of the largest images of a seated Śiva.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 68 cms.). Kiḷayūr in Tirukkovilūr, South Arcot District. Government Museum, Madras.

38a. *Vīṇādhara.* It closely resembles the Vīṇādhara (Dakshiṇāmūrti No. 2) in the Government Museum, Madras.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Musée Guimet, Paris.

38b. *Vīṇādhara.* Late phase of Choḷa work.

Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 86 cms.). Śeyyanam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

39a. *Rāma.* Belongs to the last phase of the early Choḷa period.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. In Sundaraperumāl temple, Veḷārpuram, North Arcot District.

39b. *Kṛishṇa.* Belongs to the last phase of the early Choḷa period.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. In Sundaraperumāl temple, Veḷārpuram, North Arcot District.

40a. *Rāma.* The princely dignity of this Rāma image is unparalleled.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 112 cms.). Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

40b. *Sītā.* One of the most beautiful feminine figures in the Choḷa art, a worthy companion of Rāma (40a).

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 88 cms.). Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

41a. *Lakshmaṇa.* Next only to Rāma (40a) in merit. Note the crown in the case of Rāma and *jaṭās* worked into a crown in the case of Lakshmaṇa. The *chhannavīra* suggests, he is a warrior. In the group he is clearly the younger prince.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 95 cms.). Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

41b. *Hanumān.* A perfect representation of animal devotion.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 58 cms.). Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

42a. *Vishṇu with consorts.* The best example of an early Choḷa representation of Vishṇu in the collection of the Madras Museum.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 83 cms.). Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

42b. *Śrīnivasa No. 1.* Important for the study of early Choḷa metal sculpture, as the disposition of the weapons, the general features and the ornamentation for Vishṇu and the Devīs closely follow the Choḷa tradition. Another noteworthy feature is that the position of the arms of Śrī Devī and Bhu Devī is not as in the usual representations, the hands holding the lotus and lily being away from the central figure.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 44 cms.). Sirupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District.

43a. Detail of Rāma from the group (43b).

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 92.3 cms.). Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District.

43b. *Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā.* This group of images from the temple at Paruttiyūr, is simple almost to the point of paucity of ornamentation. It is nearly as fine as the Vaḍakkupaṇayūr group in the Madras Government Museum (40a, 40b, 41a).

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 60.6 cms., 92.3 cms., 73 cms.). Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District.

44a. *Pārvatī.* A simple image with lingering Pallava grace.

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 92 cms.). Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

44b. *Kāliya-Kṛishṇa.* A Choḷa image in which Pallava traits are discernible.

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 59 cms.). N. Y. Sastri collection, Adyar, Madras.

45a. *Chandraśekhara.*

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 61 cms.). Dharmapuram-ādhīnam, Tañjāvūr District.

45b. *Brahmaśāstā.* An important image of Skanda in this aspect with very early features.

Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District.

46a. *Gaṇeśa.* The finest early Choḷa representation of Gaṇeśa in any museum. It shows the realistic elephant head, simple weapons carried in a natural way, and is in every respect typical of its period.

Early Choḷa. End of the 10th century A.D. (Ht. 52 cms.). Veḷānkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

46b. *Aiyanār.* The finest representation of Aiyanār in metal.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 45 cms.). Locality unknown. Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

47a. *Māheśvarī.* The face is particularly refined.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 50 cms.). Veḷānkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

47b. *Aiyanār on elephant.* An example with the attendant behind him. This reminds us of the earlier type of elephant rider in sculpture such as Kumāragupta with attendant *chhatra*-bearer behind him as seen on his coin.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 57 cms.). Togūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

48a. *Māheśvarī.* Larger than the Māheśvarī (47a) and equally fine and better executed.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 75 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

48b. *Kālī.* An important example as it is inscribed in Choḷa characters and is mentioned as a processional deity.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 44 cms.). Śenniyanviḍudi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

49a. *Chandraśekhara.* An image of Chandraśekhara, important not only for its workmanship but also for the inscription on the pedestal in letters of about the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century A.D. The inscription reads *svastiśrī arumoḷidevapurattup-palaparīśvaramuḍayār koilil śrībali eḻuntaruḷum tevar hastichālai nayanār.* Hail prosperity, the god of Hastichālai who is carried in *śrībali* in the local temple of Phalabharīśvara (Śiva) in the village of *Arumoḷidevapura.*

Late Choḷa. 11–12th centuries A.D. (Ht. 34 cms.). Presented by Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil to the Musée Guimet, Paris.

49b. *Gaṇeśa.*

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 45 cms.). Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Trivandram Museum.

50. *Mahishamardinī.* A rare Choḷa image as this form is not at all frequent in metal sculpture.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 75 cms.). Turaikāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

51. *Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti and Devī.*

Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. Vedāraṇyam, Tañjāvūr District.

52a. *Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti.* The departure from the Choḷa idiom has commenced.

Early Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Dharmapuram-ādhīnam maṭh. Tañjāvūr District.

52b. *Bhairava.*

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 109 cms.). Tiruveṅgāḍu. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

53a. *Chaṇḍikeśvara.* A remarkable figure showing the devotion of the steward of Śiva's household.

Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. (Ht. 44 cms.). Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

53b. *Kaṇṇappa.* There is no finer representation of the hunter saint in Choḷa art.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 50 cms.). Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.

54a. *Chaṇḍikeśvara.* The arrangement of hair and the devout expression on the face are noteworthy.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 66 cms.). Veḷānkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

54b. *Chaṇḍikeśvara.* This is an unusual representation of Chaṇḍikeśvara with the axe in one hand and the other hand held in reverential *ardhāñjali* attitude. This is probably the only representation of its kind.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 63 cms.). Belūr. Government Museum, Madras.

55a. *Sūrya.* Images of Sūrya are very rare. After Rājendra's return from his Gangetic expedition, temples for Sūrya became more popular and the Sūryanārkoil in the Tañjāvūr District is famous, as is another one in Kāñchīpuram. This Sūrya image of the early Choḷa period vies with the Ceylon one (55b).

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 56 cms.). Hariśchandrapuram, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

55b. *Sūrya.* A metal image of Sūrya showing Choḷa influence in Ceylon. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 54 cms.). Polonnāruva. Colombo Museum.

56a. *Appar.* A well-known example of the great saint and contemporary of Mahendravarman Pallava. His intense devotion is clearly seen in his attitude and in the hands clasped in *añjali.* The spud held against his shoulder lacks the flattened end usually seen in other sculptures of this saint.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 58.4 cms.). Polonnāruva. Colombo Museum.

56b. *Tirujñānasambandar.* This is probably the most famous representation in Choḷa art of the boy saint singing with cymbals in his hand to keep time.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 48.6 cms.). Polonnāruva. Colombo Museum.

56c. *Māṇikkavāchaka.* A well-known saint, author of the *Tiruvāchakam*, which, according to a Tamil proverb, should soften the heart of even the hardest into a stream of devotion.
Early Choḷa. 11–12th centuries A.D. (Ht. 54.2 cms.). Polonnāruva. Colombo Museum.

57a. *Sundara.* This is another famous example of the youthful saint who was led away by Śiva to his abode at Tiruveṇṇainallūr on his marriage day and of which legend there is an elaborate representation in painting in the Bṛihadīśvara temple at Tañjāvūr.
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 62.6 cms.). Polonnāruva. Colombo Museum.

57b. *Māṇikkavāchaka.* A somewhat later example but important by reason of the inscription *namaḥśivāya* on the manuscript of *Tiruvāchakam* in his hand which indicates a definite date for the deity by the style of the letters.
Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 50.7 cms.). National Museum of India, New Delhi.

58. *Pārvatī.* An image with all the charm of the transitional period from Pallava to Choḷa.
Early Choḷa. *C.* 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 69.5 cms.). Cora Tinken Burnett bequest 1957. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

59a. *Pārvatī.* A seated Pārvatī from either an Umāsahita or Somāskanda group.
Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 42.2 cms.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

59b. *Pārvatī.* Another image of similar type.
Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 34.3 cms.). Bhedwar collection, Bombay.

60a. *Chandraśekhara.* A very simple, slender and sparsely ornamented image.
Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. (Ht. 38 cms.). Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

60b. *Pārvatī.* Slender, sparingly ornamented, and in several respects resembling the previous image.
Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. (Ht. 60 cms.). Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

61a. *Chaṇḍikeśvara.*
Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 53 cms.). Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

61b. *Chandraśekhara.* A fine example with traces of early Choḷa workmanship.
Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 33.5 cms.). Haridas Swali collection, Bombay.

62a. *Buddha attended by Nāgarāja chauri-bearers.* This is one of the finest images from the Nāgapaṭṭiṇam hoard.
Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 74.5 cms.). Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

62b. *Buddha.* An equally fine and unusually large image of the Master.
Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 89 cms.). Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

63a. *Avalokiteśvara.* This image is noteworthy for showing *ajina-yajñopavīta* in a metal figure.
Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D. Kadiri, Mangalore District.

63b. *Buddha with hand in vyākhyānamudrā.* This is quite different from the *abhayamudrā* or the *dharmachakrapravartanamudrā*, the former usual in early sculpture and the latter in sculpture from North India and the Deccan for suggesting preaching. Here the *vyākhyānamudrā* of the teaching Dakshiṇāmūrti, usual in the South, is introduced for the preaching Buddha also.
Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D. Kadiri, Mangalore District.

64a. *Sudarśana.* This is a remarkable representation of the personified wheel of Vishṇu. The

wheel on the head is interesting as it shows a continuity of tradition from earlier times, as noticed at Deogarh and elsewhere.

Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. (Ht. 54 cms.). Locality unknown, probably Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

64b. *Kaumodakī.* A representation of the personified club of Vishṇu. This is all the more interesting as the club of Vishṇu is always personified as a female and not as a male. Personification of weapons was discontinued by about the 8th century A.D. and it is unusual to find its continuity at this late period and particularly the form of the club in male form.

Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. (Ht. 54 cms.). Locality unknown, probably Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

65a. *Śūla of Durgā or Śūlapiḍāri.* It has her figure right on it to suggest it is Durgā.

Late Chola. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 47 cms.). Saināpuram, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

65b. *Śūla of Śiva.* The trident of Śiva with his figure on it to denote it is of Śiva.

Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 45 cms.). Śikkal, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

66a-b. *Annapūrṇā.* The decorative details of the garment and coiffure are most artistically fashioned.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 60 cms.). Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

66c. *Devotee.*

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 54.5 cms.). Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

67. *Sundaramūrti.* A simple but effective image of the saint.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 61 cms.). Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

68a. *Pārvatī.* This little figure recalls something of early Choḷa grace. The patterns on the garment are clearly worked.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 30 cms.). Haridas Swali collection, Bombay.

68b. *Lakshmī.* An unusual image supposed to be of Reṇukā fashioning a mud pot out of sand everyday to fetch water, which according to the story, was possible because of the merit of her great devotion to her husband. But more likely this is just Lakshmī from a Kalyāṇasundara group, holding the bride Pārvatī to be given away in marriage to Śiva.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 65.5 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

69a. *Pradoshamūrti.*

Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. (Ht. 50 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

69b. *Naṭeśa.* A well-known image of Naṭarāja.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 153.3 cms.). National Museum, Amsterdam.

70a. *Naṭeśa.*

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 113 cms.). Kaṇkoduttavanitam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

70b. *Naṭeśa.* The *jaṭās* are elaborate, as also the halo.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 112.5 cms.). Vellālagaram. Tañjāvūr District. Musée Guimet, Paris.

71a. *Vishṇu.*

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 84.5 cms.). Probably Tañjāvūr District. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

71b. *Vishṇu.* Shows early Choḷa grace.

Early-late Choḷa transition, Early 12th century A.D. (Ht. 76.5 cms.). Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

72a. *Kālī.* An image recalling early Choḷa grace.
Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. (Ht. 64 cms.). Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

72b. *Durgā.* A fine image with early Choḷa features.
Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. (Ht. 78.5 cms.). Tiruvalañjuḷi, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

73a. *Veṇugopāla.* An image showing Veṇugopāla with a single pair of arms.
Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District.

73b. *Chaṇḍikeśvara.* A fine example of late Choḷa workmanship.
Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. Dharmapuram-ādhīnam, Tañjāvūr District.

74a. *Yoganarasiṁha.* An image with the *ardhayogapaṭṭa* on the left leg.
Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. (Ht. 16.5 cms.). Locality unknown. Government Museum, Madras.

74b. *Yoganarasiṁha.* A very late image of the period with the *yogapaṭṭa* on both knees, returned by the Madras Museum to the villagers of Mañjakkuḍi from where it was originally acquired.
Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 65 cms.). Mañjakkuḍi, Tañjāvūr District.

75a. *Adhikāranandī with consort.* Images of Adhikāranandī are represented with bovine head. But examples with a human head without horns and with consort are rather rare. With all the attributes of Śiva he stands like Umāsahita and is distinguished by his hands in *añjali.*
Late Choḷa-Vijayanagara transition. 13–14th centuries A.D. (Ht. 72 cms.). Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay.

75b. *Kaṅkāla.* The only one of its kind in any museum.
Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 33 cms). Tirukkalar, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

76a. *Somāskanda.*
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Formerly in the collection of S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari.

76b. *Vishṇu with consorts.* An unusual figure with a single pair of arms with *śaṅkha* and *chakra* on palms and prominent *vanamālā*, a rare feature in South Indian bronzes.
Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. (Ht. 32 cms.). Komal, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

77a. *Vishṇu.* An important early image of the Chera school.
Early Chera. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 56 cms.). Trivandrum Museum.

77b-c. *Vishṇu.* Another important early image of the Chera school.
Early Chera. 9th century A.D. (Ht. 15·5 cms.). Trivandrum Museum.

78. *Naṭarāja.* A unique image of the Madurai type with the right leg raised instead of the left.
Early Pāṇḍya. Early 11th century A.D. (Ht. 105 cms.). Poruppumeṭṭupaṭṭī, Madurai District. Government Museum, Madras.

79a. *Yaśodā-Kṛishṇa.* An example of the mother and child motif.
Late Choḷa-Vijayanagara tansition. 13–14th centuries A.D. (Ht. 12.5 cms.). Togūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

79b. *Bālasubrahmaṇya.* An image recalling late Choḷa work. It is the decorative charm in this chubby figure that calls for attention.
Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. (Ht. 50 cms.). Arayankuḍi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.

80a. *Pārvatī.* A typical example of post-Choḷa development.
Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. (Ht. 91.5 cms.). Tiruveḷvikkuḍi, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

80b. *Pārvatī.* A well-known image with graceful flexions.
Vijayanagara. 16–17th century A.D. (Ht. 93 cms.). Jambavānoḍi. National Museum of India, New Delhi.

81a. *Royal devotee.* A royal portrait of the early phase of late Choḷa art.
Late Choḷa. Early 12th century A.D. (Ht. 74 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

81b. *Choḷa queen.* Another royal portrait.
Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. 53.5 cms.). Gautam Sarabhai collection, Ahmedabad.

82a. *Kṛishṇadevarāya with his queens Tirumalāmbā and Chinnādevī.* This remarkable portrait group is to be counted amongst the great masterpieces of the Vijayanagara period and is in the Tirumalai temple on the hill.
Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. (Ht. about 122 cms.). Tirupati.

82b. *Kolaga Ṛishi.* Portrait of a devotee with the grace of early Choḷa work.
Late Choḷa. Early 12th century A.D. Koḍikarai, Tañjāvūr District.

83a. *Bālakṛishṇa.*
Late Choḷa. 12–13th centuries A.D. (Ht. 60.5 cms.). Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.

83b. *Kālīya-Kṛishṇa.* We can compare this with the very early Choḷa Kālīya-Kṛishṇa in N. Y. Sastri's collection (44b) to see how the features transform after the lapse of some centuries.
Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Sundaraperumālkoil, Tañjāvūr District.

84. *Naṭarāja.* An early Naṭarāja somewhat later than the Okkūr one (22a).
Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. Śivapuram, Tañjāvūr District.

85 and 88a. *Kalyāṇasundaramūrti.* A rare example of a complete group showing Vishṇu and Lakshmī giving away Pārvatī in wedlock to Śiva. It is most important from this point of view, and aesthetically almost approaches the Tiruveḷvikkuḍi group (18–19).
Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 95.2 cms.). Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

86 and 88b. *Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti with Devī.* This is an example of superb early Choḷa representation of the deity with hair arranged as a circular *jaṭābhāra* in *ushṇīsha* fashion. An inscription in the temple at Tiruveṅgāḍu where this was found along with other bronzes mentions the gift of Vṛishbhavāhanamūrti to the temple in 1011 A.D. and the Devī in the subsequent year. So it is one of the definitely dated early Choḷa bronzes. (Inscription No. 457 of 1918). The image is of the time of Rājarāja.
Early Choḷa. 1011 A.D. (Ht. 106.5 cms. and 93 cms.). Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

87. *Bhikshāṭana.* An early Choḷa representation of this deity. An inscription from Tiruveṅgāḍu mentions its gift to the temple in about 1048 A.D. referring to it as Pichchadevar or Bhikshāṭana (Inscription No. 450 of 1918).
Early Choḷa. 1048 A.D. (Ht. 89 cms.). Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

89. *Tripurāntaka, Tripurasundarī and female attendant.* This is not only a complete Tripurāntaka group but also illustrates surviving Pallava traditions in early Choḷa times on the Pāṇḍya border with a basic Pāṇḍya idiom.
Pāṇḍya, 10th century A.D. Under worship in the Śiva temple at Koḍumuḍi, Coimbatore District, Madras.

90a-b. *Naṭeśa dancing in the lalita mode.* The only metal image known presenting Naṭeśa in this dance mode. This is a rare example like the Naṭeśa from Tiruvaraṅgulam which is in the *chatura* pose (16). It belongs to the same school as the Tripurāntaka group (89).
Pāṇḍya. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 63.5 cms.). Under worship in the Śiva temple at Koḍumuḍi, Coimbatore District, Madras.

91a-b. *Vishṇu.* From the Koḍumuḍi group showing Pallava traditions in early Choḷa times on the Pāṇḍya border, with a basic Pāṇḍya idiom.

Pāṇḍya. 10th century A.D. Under worship in the temple at Koḍumuḍi, Coimbatore District, Madras.

92a. *Veṇugopāla.* An image with four arms.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. From Ādijagannāthasvāmi Temple, Tiruppallāni, Rāmanāthapuram District.

92b. *Gajāntaka.* The best example of its kind from the temple at Vaḻuvūr.

Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D. Vaḻuvūr, Tañjāvūr District.

93a. *Dakshiṇāmūrti.* A miniature bronze typical of the Vijayanagara period.

Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. (Ht. 11 cms.). Musée Guimet, Paris.

93b. *Bhairava.*

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 41 cms.). Musée Guimet, Paris.

93c. *Somāskanda.* Though typical of early Choḷa work, the dangling legs of Śiva and Pārvatī are rather twisted.

Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. (Ht. 58 cms.). Musée Guimet, Paris.

94a. *Devī.* The ornamental details in this figure clearly suggest the type as it occurs in late Chera paintings. This is obvious in the *Kathakali* pattern of dress and make-up.

Late Chera. 17th century A.D. (Ht. 52 cms.). Government Museum, Madras.

94b. *Adhikāranandi with consort.* Examples of Adhikāranandi with consort being somewhat rare, this is interesting for the study of this icon.

Vijayanagara. 14th century A.D. (Ht. 88 cms.). Tirumullaivāśal, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

95a. *Detail of Śrīdevī.* Peruntoṭṭam.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. (Ht. 64 cms.). Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District, Government Museum, Madras.

95b. *Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara.* It was originally in the Konerirājapuram Temple and with his consort (erroneously known as Mātaṅgi in the Gautam Sarabhai collection) formed a splendid pair. The features of this image are in the grand style of early Choḷa sculpture.

Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. (Ht. 109.2 cms.). Bhedwar collection, Bombay.

96a. *Kālāntakamūrti.* A forceful image in action.

Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Tirukkaḍayūr, Tañjāvūr District.

96b. *Dīpalakshmī.* The damsel carries a metal pan which became such a common motif in Vijayanagara art in all temples and which was offered as a votive gift. It is typical for workmanship and decorative detail of the Nāyak period. The lower garment continued upwards to cover the breasts is characteristic in Vijayanagara and Nāyak art.

Nāyak. 17th century A.D. Madurai.

96c. *Heraṁbagaṇapati.* A late example of the rigmarole of iconography.

Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District.

97. *Vṛishvāhanamūrti with consort and Nandi.* This is a remarkable image not only for its aesthetic quality but also because it is the most complete early group yet found of this form of Śiva in metal.

Early Choḷa, 11th century A.D. (Ht. 100.4 cms.). Under worship in the Akshyaliṅgasvāmi temple, Kiḻvelūr, Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District.

98. *Ardhanārīśvara with bull.* This is a remarkable Ardhanārīśvara image with a good deal yet of the grace of Early Choḷa sculpture still present in the 12th century. This is particularly important as it is a complete group with the Nandi present. The hand of the female is on the bull.

Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. (Ht. about 120 cms.). Now under worship in the Amṛitaghaṭeśvara temple, Melakaḍambūr, Tañjāvūr District.

99. *Umā and Skanda of Somāskanda group.* This is probably the most beautiful and almost unconventional representation of two figures. The grace in the face, the contours of the form, the modelling of the torso, the breast and the stomach and the feet of Devī, and the juvenile pose of innocence of Skanda, the look of reverie in his eyes, and the modelling of the child's stomach, bespeak the facile hand of a great master. The complete group should have been a splendid one indeed.

Early Choḷa. 9–10th centuries A.D. (Ht. 60.3 cms.). Under worship in the Pallavanīśvarasvāmi temple, Pallavanīśvaram, Śīrkāḷi, Tañjāvūr District.

100a. *Narteśvara.* Noteworthy here is the *ūrdhvaliṅga* of Śiva, the *lalita* mode of his dance on the bull, accompanying *gaṇas* and the ten hands composing what Kālidāsa would call *bhujataruvana.*

Pāla. 10th century A.D. (Ht. 40 cms.). Under worship in the Amṛitaghaṭeśvara temple, Melakaḍambūr, Tañjāvūr District.

100b. *Kālī.* One of the finest early representations of this deity.

Early Choḷa. *C.* 10th century A.D. (Ht. 40.3 cms.). Von der Heydt collection. Rittberg Museum, Zurich.

The photographs reproduced in this volume were made available by the institutions and individuals listed below, whose courtesy is here gratefully acknowledged. National Museum of India, New Delhi—frontispiece, Colour Plate A; figs. 3, 42 and 44; pls. 1c, 3a, 4, 5b-7a, 10a, 10c, 12, 13b, 14c, 16, 22, 25a, 28b, 29a, 33, 35-37, 40b, 41a, 42a, 44b, 46-47, 50, 54b, 55a, 57b, 60-61a, 64-66, 69a, 70a, 71a, 74a, 76b, 79, 80b, 94a, 95. Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay—Colour Plate B; pls. 32b, 61b, 67, 68a. Mrs. Ruth Reeves—figs. 1 and 2. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi—figs. 34, 35, 39, 40, 45-52; pls. 2a, 9, 18, 19, 20b, 20c, 21, 23, 25b-27, 31, 32a, 34, 39, 41b, 45, 51-52, 53b, 71b-73, 75, 77, 80a, 81b-82, 83b, 85-88b, 92, 94b, 96. Government Museum, Madras—figs. 31, 36, 37, 41; pls. 1a, 10b, 10d, 13a, 15a, 28a, 29b, 38b, 40a, 42b, 43b, 48b, 53a, 54a, 63, 74b, 78, 84, 88c-91. S. S. Aiyar Photo Co., Madras—fig. 38. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay—pls. 1b, 2c, 5a, 8, 11b, 14a, 14b, 17, 76a, 83a. Colombo Museum—pls. 1d, 55b-57a. Victoria and Albert Museum, London—pl. 2b. Royal Academy of Arts, London—3b, 7b, 7c, 24, 48a, 59a, 62, 68b, 81a. Indian Museum, Calcutta—pl. 11c. Shri Srinivasa Gopalachari, Madras—pls. 11a, 20a, 59b, 95b. Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City—pl. 30. Musée Guimet, Paris—pls. 38a, 49a, 70b, 93. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.—pl. 44a. Zurich City Museum—pl. 49b. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City—pl. 58. Institut d'Indologie, Pondicherry—pls. 97-100a. Rittberg Museum, Zurich—pl. 100b. Author—figs. 4-30, 43; pl. 15b.

CHRONOLOGY OF SOUTH INDIA

B.C.	322-298	Chandragupta Maurya.
	274-237	Aśoka.
	237-185	Successors of Aśoka.
	200	Sātavāhana power in the Deccan.
A.D.	80-104	Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.
	104-128	Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.
	170-199	Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇī.
	175-193	Chera Señguṇṇuvan, Pāṇḍya Neḍunjeliyan, Choḷa Karikāla.
	200	Sirivīra Purisadata—Ikshvāku.
	280-340	Pravarasena I—Vākāṭaka.
	345-360	Mayūraśarman—Kadamba.
	350-430	Śālaṅkāyanas, Kadambas, Western Gaṅgas.
	410-445	Pravarasena II—Vākāṭaka.
	543	Pulakeśin I fortifies Bādāmī.
	566-598	Kīrtivarman I—Western Chāḷukya.
	598-609	Maṅgaleśa—Western Chāḷukya.
	575-600	Siṁhavishṇu—Pallava.
	590-620	Kadungon—Pāṇḍya.
	600-630	Mahendravarman I—Pallava.
	609-642	Pulakeśin II—Western Chāḷukya.
	624-641	Kubja Vishṇuvardhana—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	620-645	Māravarman Avaniśūlāmaṇi—Pāṇḍya.
	641-678	Jayasiṁha I—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	645-670	Śendan Jayantavarman—Pāṇḍya.
	655-681	Vikramāḍitya I—Western Chāḷukya.
	630-668	Narasiṁhavarman I—Pallava.
	668-670	Mahendravarman II—Pallava.
	670-680	Parameśvaravarman I—Pallava.
	670-710	Arikesari Māravarman—Pāṇḍya.
	673-682	Vishṇuvardhana II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	680-720	Narasiṁhavarman II Rājasiṁha—Pallava.
	681-696	Vinayāditya—Western Chāḷukya.
	682-706	Maṅgi Yuvarāja—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	696-733	Vijayāditya—Western Chāḷukya.
	706-718	Jayasiṁha II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	710-730	Kochchaḍayan Raṇadhīra—Pāṇḍya.
	710-755	Vishṇuvardhana III—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	720-731	Parameśvaravarman II—Pallava.
	731-796	Nandivarman II Pallavamalla—Pallava.
	730-765	Māravarman Rājasiṁha—Pāṇḍya.
	733-745	Vikramāditya II—Western Chāḷukya.
	745-753	Kīrtivarman—Western Chāḷukya.
	742-756	Dantidurga—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	756-773	Kṛishṇa I—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	755-772	Vijayāditya I—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	765-815	Varaguṇa I—Pāṇḍya.
	772-808	Vishṇuvardhana IV—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	773-780	Govinda II—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	780-792	Dhruva—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	792-814	Govinda III—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
A.D.	808-847	Vijayāditya II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	814-880	Amoghavarsha I—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	815-862	Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha—Pāṇḍya.
	847-849	Kali Vishṇuvardhana—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	849-892	Guṇaga Vijayāditya—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	850-871	Vijayālaya—Choḷa.
	862-880	Varaguṇavarma II—Pāṇḍya.
	871-907	Āditya I—Choḷa.
	880-915	Kṛishṇa II—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	880-900	Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa—Pāṇḍya.
	892-921	Chāḷukya Bhīma—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	900-920	Māravarma Rājasiṁha II—Pāṇḍya.
	907-955	Parāntaka—Choḷa.
	915-927	Indra III—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	921-927	Amma I—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	928-935	Yuddhamalla II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	927-930	Amoghavarsha II—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	930-955	Govinda IV—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	935-940	Amoghavarsha III—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	935-947	Chāḷukya Bhīma II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	940-967	Kṛishṇa III—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	947-970	Amma II—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	956	Ariñjaya—Choḷa.
	956-973	Sundara Choḷa—Choḷa.
	967-972	Khoṭṭiga—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	972-973	Karka II—Rāshṭrakūṭa.
	970-973	Dānārṇava—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	973-985	Uttama Choḷa—Choḷa.
	973-997	Taila II—Western Chāḷukya.
	985-1015	Rājarāja—Choḷa.
	997-1008	Satyāśraya—Western Chāḷukya.
	1000-1030	Beṭa—Kākatīya.
	1000-1011	Śaktivarman—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	1008-1015	Vikramāditya V—Western Chāḷukya.
	1011-1018	Vimalāditya—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	1012-1044	Rājendra Gaṅgaikoṇḍachoḷa—Choḷa.
	1015-1042	Jagadekamalla—Western Chāḷukya.
	1019-1061	Rājarāja Narendra—Eastern Chāḷukya.
	1030-1075	Prola I—Kākatīya.
	1042-1068	Someśvara I—Western Chāḷukya.
	1018-1054	Rājādhirāja—Choḷa.
	1038-1068	Vajrahasta—Eastern Gaṅga.
	1052-1064	Rājendra II—Choḷa.
	1063-1069	Vīrarājendra—Choḷa.
	1068-1076	Rājarāja I—Eastern Gaṅga.
	1068-1076	Someśvara II—Western Chāḷukya.
	1068-1070	Adhirājendra—Choḷa.
	1070-1120	Rājendra Kulottuṅga I—Choḷa.
	1076-1127	Vikramāditya VI—Western Chāḷukya.
	1076-1147	Anantavarma Choḍagaṅgadeva—Eastern Gaṅga.

A.D. 1075-1110 Beṭa II—Kākatīya.
1100-1111 Ballāla I—Hoysaḷa.
1100-1152 Vishṇuvardhana—Hoysaḷa.
1100-1158 Prola II—Kākatīya.
1118-1135 Vikrama Choḷa—Choḷa.
1127-1138 Someśvara III—Western Chāḷukya.
1135-1150 Kulottuṅga II—Choḷa.
1138-1151 Jagadekamalla II—Western Chāḷukya.
1146-1173 Rājarāja II—Choḷa.
1150-1163 Taila III—Western Chāḷukya.
1152-1173 Narasiṁha I—Hoysaḷa.
1158-1195 Pratāparudra I—Kākatīya.
1163-1183 Jagadekamalla III—Western Chāḷukya.
1173-1220 Ballāla II—Hoysaḷa.
1163-1178 Rājādhirāja II—Choḷa.
1178-1218 Kulottuṅga III—Choḷa.
1183-1200 Someśvara IV—Western Chāḷukya.
1195-1198 Mahādeva—Kākatīya.
1199-1262 Gaṇapatī—Kākatīya.
1216-1256 Rājarāja III—Choḷa.
1238-1264 Narasiṁha I—Eastern Gaṅga.
1220-1238 Narasiṁha II—Hoysaḷa.
1233-1267 Someśvara—Hoysaḷa.

A.D. 1254-1292 Narasiṁha III—Hoysaḷa.
1251-1268 Jaṭāvarma Suṇdara—Pāṇḍya.
1246-1279 Rājendra III—Choḷa.
1262-1296 Rudrāmbā—Kākatīya.
1268-1310 Māravarma Kulaśekhara—Pāṇḍya.
1295-1326 Pratāparudra II—Kākatīya.
1336-1357 Harihara I—Vijayanagara.
1344-1377 Bukka I—Vijayanagara.
1377-1404 Harihara II—Vijayanagara.
1406-1422 Devarāya I—Vijayanagara.
1422-1446 Devarāya II—Vijayanagara.
1447-1465 Mallikārjuna—Vijayanagara.
1465-1485 Virūpāksha II—Vijayanagara.
1486-1491 Sāḷuva Narasiṁha—Vijayanagara.
1491-1505 Immaḍi Narasiṁha—Vijayanagara.
1505-1509 Vīra Narasiṁha—Vijayanagara.
1509-1529 Krishṇadevarāya—Vijayanagara.
1530-1542 Achyutadevarāya—Vijayanagara.
1542-1576 Sadāśiva—Vijayanagara.
1570-1585 Śrī Raṅga I—Vijayanagara.
1586-1614 Venkaṭa II—Vijayanagara.
1614-1630 Rāmadevarāya—Vijayanagara.
1630-1642 Venkaṭa III—Vijayanagara.

GLOSSARY

Abhaṅga	slight flexion
abhaya	hand suggestive of protection
abhinaya	gesticulate
āhūyavarada	attitude of hand suggesting beckoning to confer a boon
akshamālā	rosary
ananta	variety of armlet
ālīḍha	warrior's pose with right leg bent forward and left drawn back
ālvār	saintly devotee of Vishṇu
ānandatāṇḍava	dance pose
aṅgahāras	bodily gryations in a dance pose
angula	unit of measurement
añjali	hands clasped in adoration
antarīya	lower garment
anugrahamūrti	benevolent form
apasmāra	evil and ignorance personified
ardhachandrahasta	hands in crescent moon-like form to hold fire
ardhamaṇḍapa	half hall; the smaller hall connecting the shrine and the larger pillared hall *(maṇḍapa)*
ardhaparyaṅkāsana	seated with both the legs on the seat, one raised up and the other bent
ardhākshi	one of the five *sthānas* or positions
adharju	one of the five *sthānas* or positions
ardhayogapaṭṭa	hand around one bent leg in meditative pose
ardhayogāsana	meditative mode of seat with *ardhayogapaṭṭa*
ardhoruka	shorts
asamyutahasta	single hand in dance gesticulation
āsana	seated pose
ashṭatāla	measurement of images by eight *tālas*
atibhaṅga	multi-flexed pose
āyudhapurushas	weapons personified
Bhakta	devotee
bhāva	emotion
bhittika	one of the five *sthānas* or positions
bhṛiṅgipāda	a tiny bell on the leg
bhujaṅgatrāsita	'scared by snake,' dance pose suggestive of movement away from a snake out of fear
bhūsparśa	earth-touching attitude as when Buddha called earth as witness
biruda	title
brahmasūtra	plumbline
Chakra	wheel of Vishṇu
chatura	lit. clever, dance pose
chaturvyūha	the four arrays of Vishṇu forms, Vāsudeva, Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha
chhannavīra	cross-belt
chinmudrā	hand connoting knowledge
cire-perdue	French word meaning 'lost-wax process'
Daṇḍahasta	hand straight like a rod
daśatāla	measurement of images by ten *tālas*
dhammilla	a variety of coiffure
dharmachakrapravartana-mudrā	hand suggesting the first turning of the wheel of law by Buddha at Sārnāth
dhattūra	a flower
dhyāna	meditation or hands in meditation
dhyānaśloka	contemplative hymn to mentally picture the iconography of the deity
dīpalakshmī	auspicious lamp-bearer damsel
dvibhaṅga	duoflex pose
Ekatāla	measurement of images by one *tāla*
Gadā	club of Vishṇu
gaṇas	dwarf followers of Śiva
ghana	solid (casting)
gopura	temple gateway
Hasta	mode of hand suggestive in dance, single *asamyuta* or double *samyuta*
hasta-svastika	hands crossed
hastiśauṇḍika	mode of wearing the lower garment to suggest the contour of the elephant's trunk
Jalamayastambha	liquid pillar of victory
jaṭā	locks of hair of an ascetic
jaṭābhāra	mass of locks of hair
jaṭāmakuṭa	crown of locks of hair
jīvātma	individual soul
jvālākeśa	flaming hair
Kalaśa	pot
kanakasabhā	golden dance hall (of Naṭeśa at Chidambaram)
kaṇṭhi	necklet
kapāla	skull-cap
karaṇa	dance pose
karaṇḍamakuṭa	crown resembling a pile of pots
karihasta	same as *daṇḍahasta*
karmāra	metalworker
kartarīmukha	fingers of the hand held like a pair of scissors to hold an object
kāśa	a flower
kaṭakāmukha	hand in an attitude of holding a lily
kaṭisūtra	waist band

kaṭyavalambita — hand held straight below the hip
keśabandha — a variety of coiffure
kirīṭa — crown
kirīṭamakuṭa — crown
krishṇājina — deer skin
kuchabandha — breast band
kuṇḍalas — ear ornaments like *ratnakuṇḍala*, *patrakuṇḍala*, *simhakuṇḍala*, *makarakuṇḍala*, *pretakuṇḍala* etc.

Lalita — dance pose
liksha — unit of measurement
līlākamala — sportive lotus
lola — hand dangling at ease

Madhūchchhishṭavidhāna — lotus-wax mode of casting metal images i.e. (fr.) *cire-perdue*
makara — crocodile motif
mahārājalīlā — a royal pose of sitting at ease with hand resting on the knee of the bent leg
makaramakūṭa — *makara* decoration on crown
maṇḍapa — pillared and canopied hall
māngalyasūtra — auspicious string on neck (of females)
mṛiga — deer
mudrā — gesture of the hand
mukhamaṇḍapa — the narrow hall connecting the *ardhamaṇḍapa* or the *maṇḍapa* with the shrine

Nāgakuchabandha — breast band composed of a snake
navatāla — measurement of image by nine *tālas*
nāyamār — saintly devotee of Śiva
navavadhū — newly wedded bride
nityavinoda — a royal title, lit. perennial entertainment
nṛittamūrti — dancing form

Pādasara — jewel for the feet
pādasvastika — crossed legs
padma — lotus
padmāsana — meditative pose with the legs crossed and soles turned upward
pakshasūtra — side line
pañchatāla — measurement of images by five *tālas*
paramāṇu — unit of measurement
paramātmā — the Absolute
paraśu — axe
parinirvāṇa — the passing away of the Buddha
paryaṅkāsana — seated pose with legs locked over seat
patrakūṭa — leaf decoration on crown
patrapaṭṭa — leaf strip decoration of coiffure
pināka — bow of Śiva
ponnambalam — golden dance hall (of Naṭeśa at Chidambaram)
prabhā — circle of light
pradakshiṇavīthī — perambulatory passage
pratyālīḍha — warrior's pose, the opposite of *ālīḍha*
pṛishṭhachakra — wheel design on buttocks
pudumaṇḍapa — lit. new *maṇḍapa*

Rajatasabhā — silver dance hall (of Naṭeśa at Madurai)
ratnamakuṭa — gem decoration on crown
ratnapaṭṭa — gem strip decoration of coiffure
ṛiju — one of the five *sthānas* or positions
ṛishi — sage

Sāchi — one of the five *sthānas* or positions
śakti — spear-shaped weapon
samapada — straight pose with feet together
samhāramūrti — the form as destroyer
śaṅkha — conch
saptatāla — measurement of images by seven *tālas*
śayana — reclining attitude
shaṭṭāla — measurement of images by six *tālas*
simhakarṇa — lit. leonine ear, in an attitude of beckoning
śilpa — art
śiraśchakra — circular decoration behind
śivapādaśekhara — a royal title, lit. bearer of Śiva's feet on his head
skandhamālā — shoulder tassels
śrīvatsa — auspicious mark on the chest of Vishṇu
sthapati — metal sculptor
sūchi — hand with pointing finger in terrifying attitude
sukhāsana — seated at ease
śūla — trident
sushira — hollow (casting)
suvarṇavaikakshaka — golden jewel shaped like *chhannavīra*

Tāla — a unit of measurement for images
tarjanī — hand in attitude of threatening
trasareṇu — unit of measurement
tribhaṅga — body in triple fixed pose
triśūla — trident

Udarabandha — stomach band
utkuṭikāsana — seated with a bent leg raised on the seat itself and the other dangling
ushṇīsha — cranial protuberance of Buddha

Vaikakshaka — cross belt
vimāna — the elevation of the shrine with the superstructure
vaivāhikamūrti — bridal form
valagra — unit of measurement
vīṇā — lute
vīrāsana — hero's seated pose with one leg on the other

Yajñopavīta — sacred thread, like *muktāyajñopavīta*, *vastrayajñopavīta*, *ajinayajñopavīta* etc
yogapaṭṭa — band for binding the legs in a pose of meditation (*paryaṅkabandha*)
yogāsana — meditative pose
yūka — unit of measurement

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PLATES



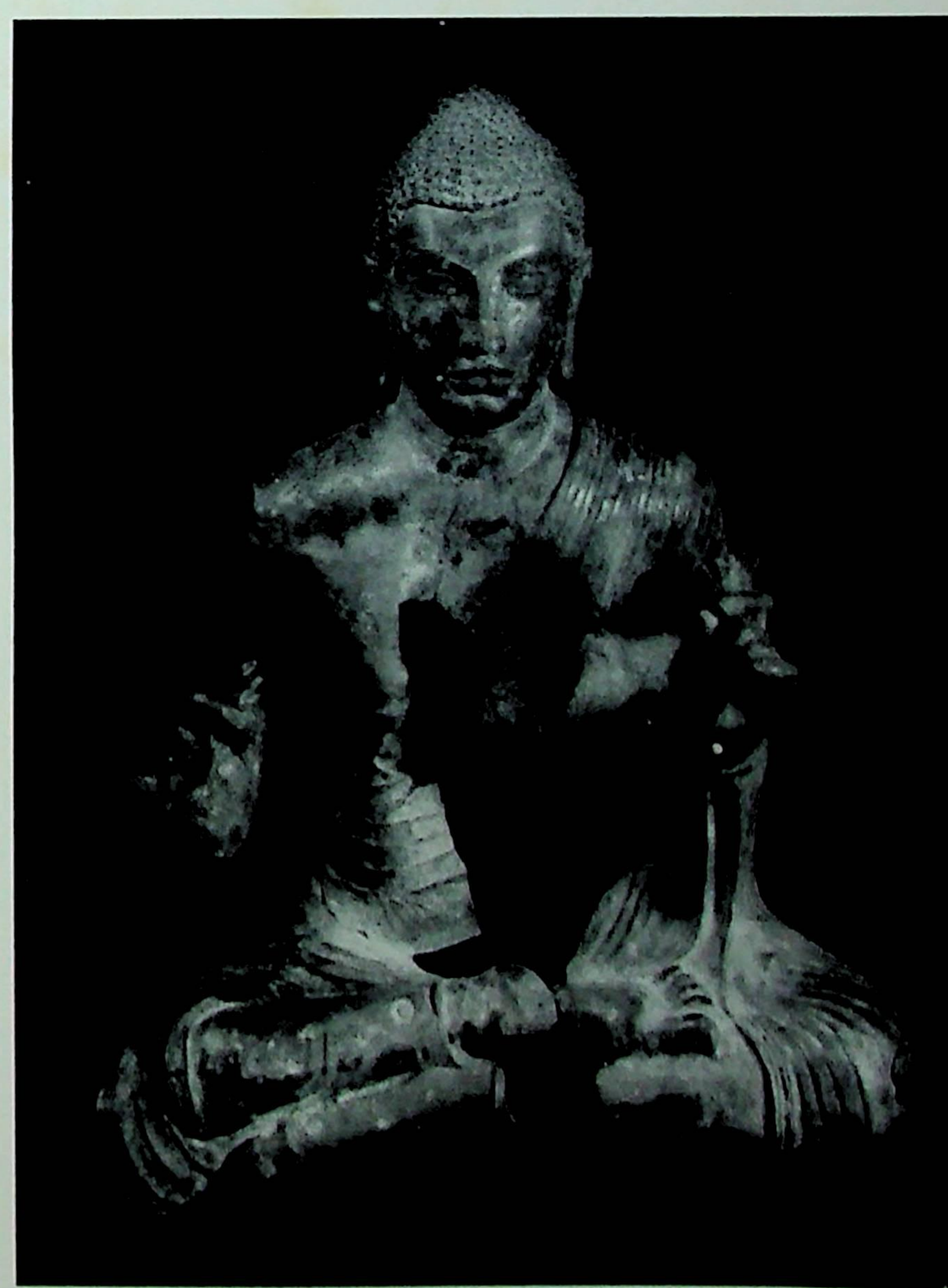
1a. Female figurine probably representing Mother Goddess. *C.* B.C. 1000. Ādichanallur, Tirunelveli District, South India. Ht. 7 cms. Government Museum, Madras.



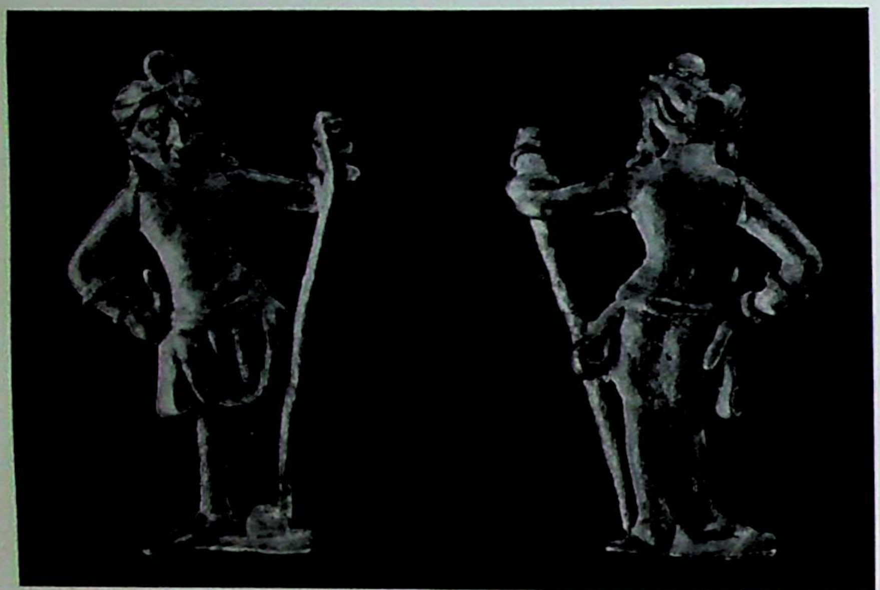
1b. Elephant with riders. Sātavāhana. 2nd century A.D. Ht. 5 cms. Kolhapur Museum.



1c. Buddha. Late Sātavāhana, 3rd century A.D. Ht. 43.5 cms. Government Museum, Madras.



1d. Buddha. Amarāvati school, 3rd century A.D. Ht. 54.5 cms. Badulla, Colombo Museum.



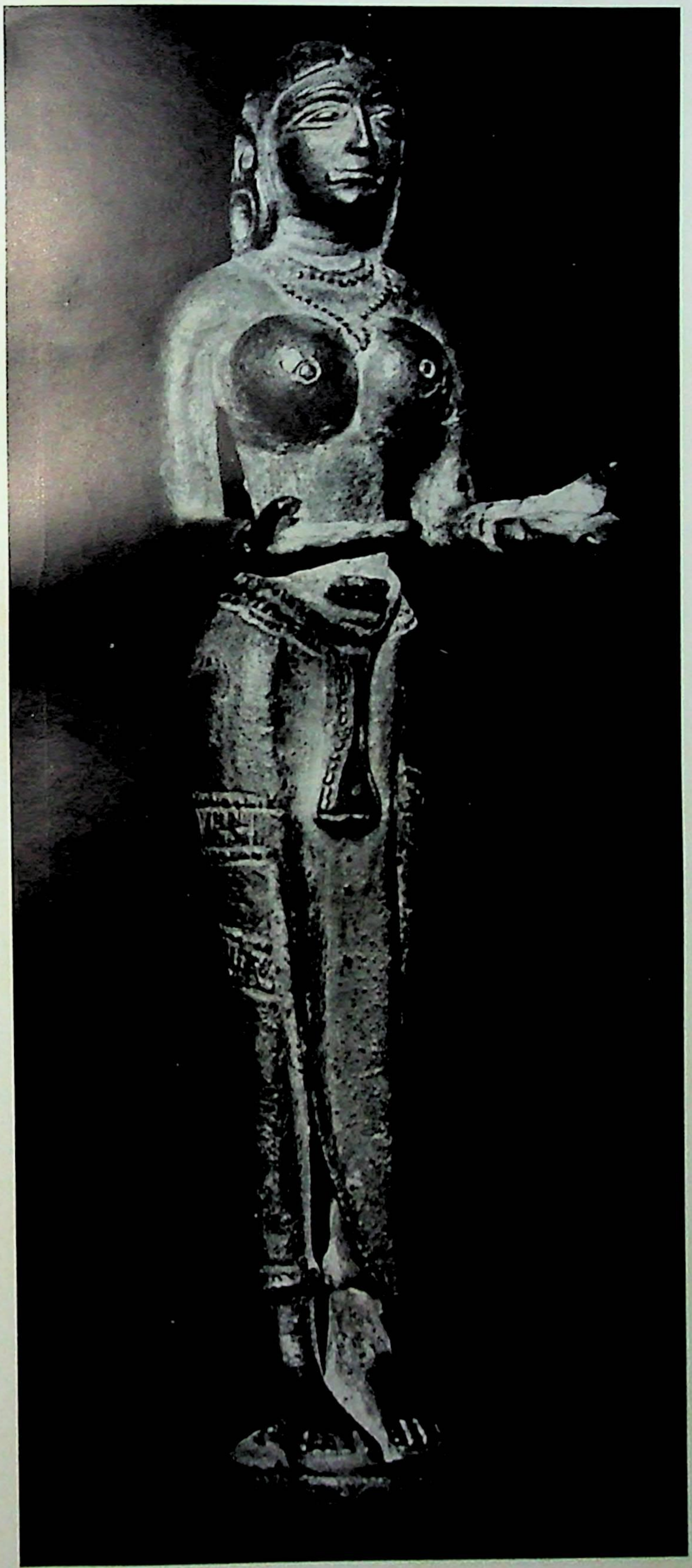
2a. Prince with a bow, probably Rāma. (Front and reverse). Ikshvāku. 3rd century A.D. Ht. 8.5 cms. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntur District.



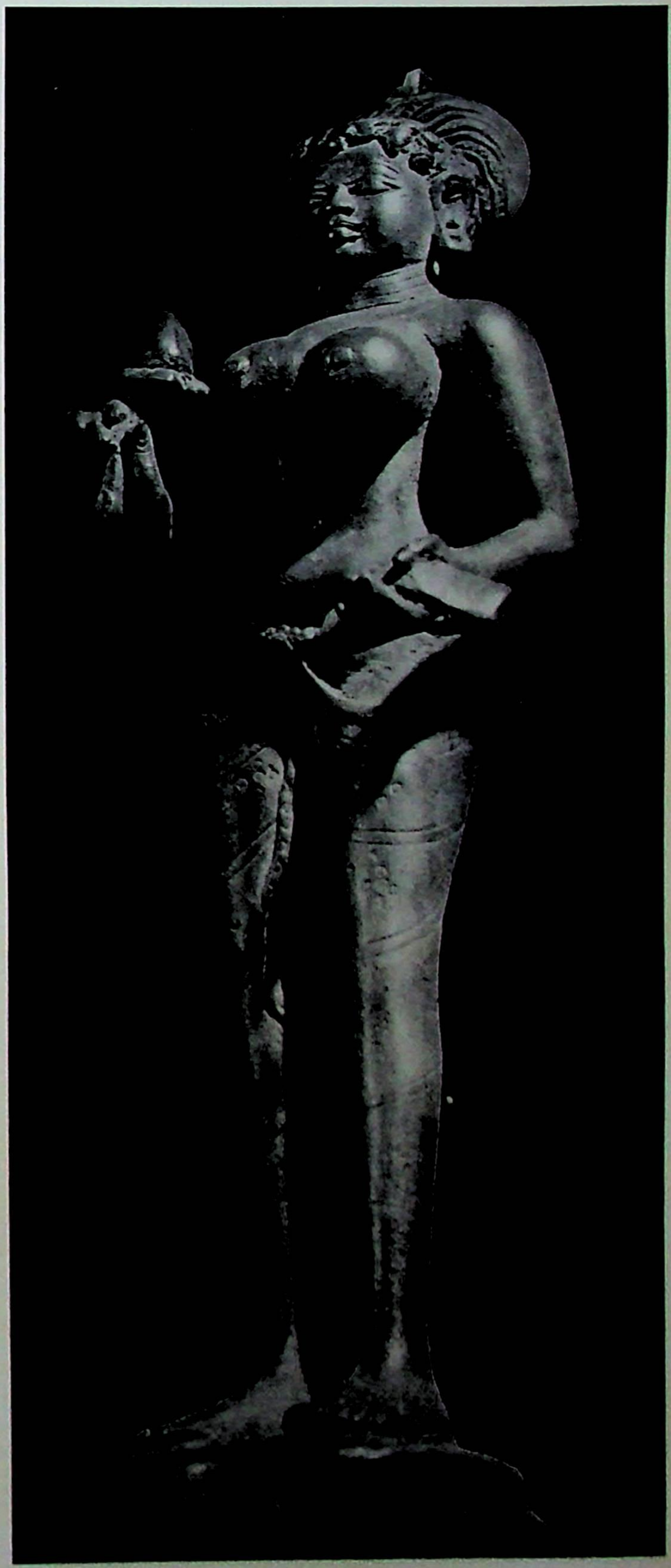
2b. Avalokiteśvara. Early Pallava. 5th century A.D. Ht. 15.2 cms. From the Kṛishṇā Valley. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



2c. Bāhubali. Chāḷukya school. 9th century A.D. Ht. 50.1 cms. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.



3a. Dīpalakshmī. Kākatiya school, 12-13th centuries A.D. Ht. 15.5 cms. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



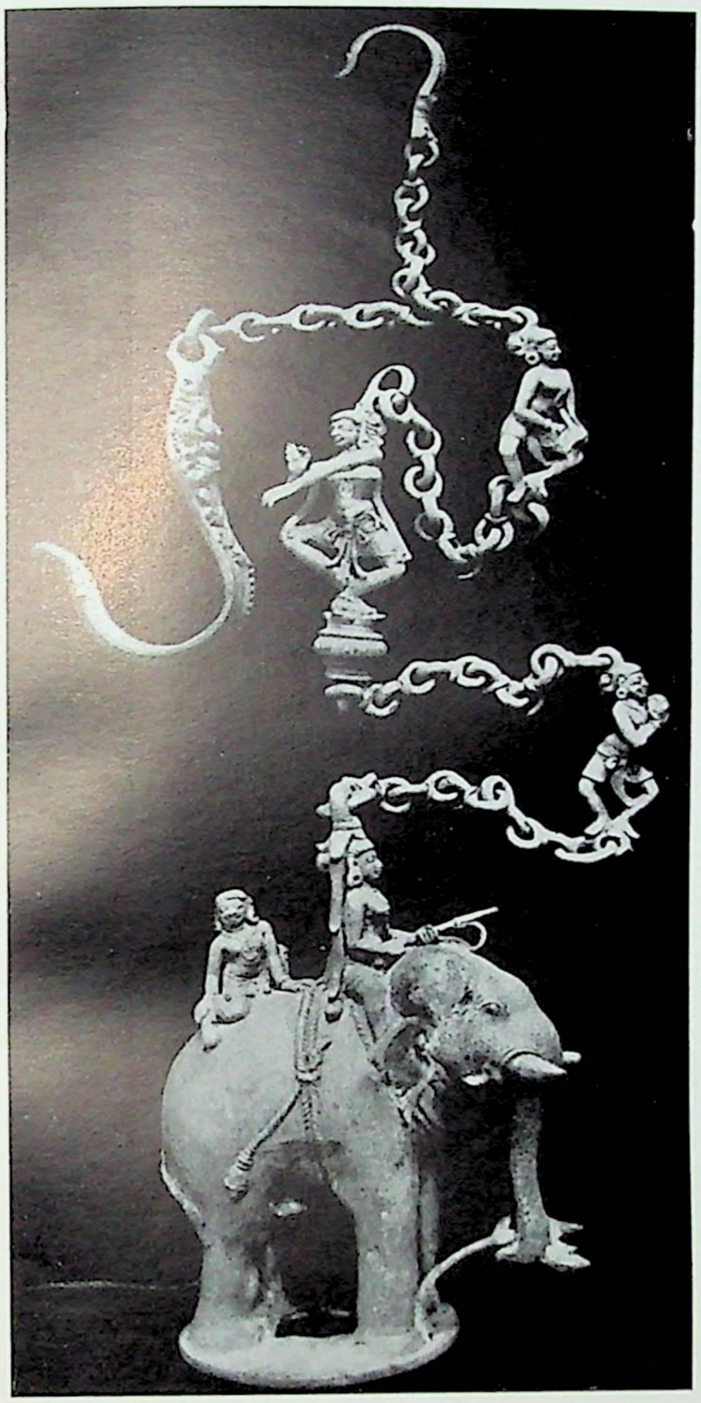
3b. Goddess or a Jaina Yakshī. Western Chāḷukya, 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 33 cms. Collection Capt. Jones, London. Now in the British Museum.



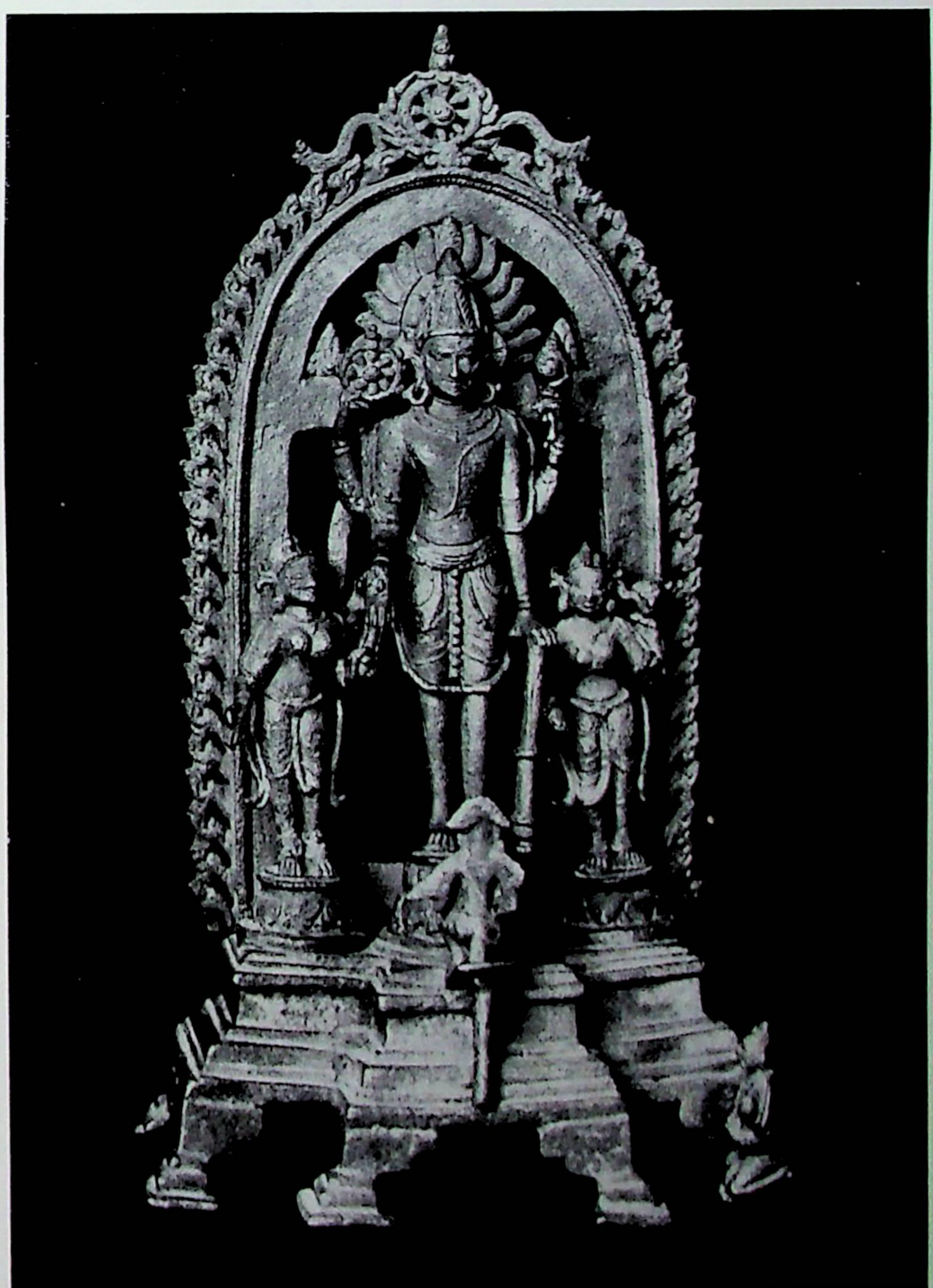
↑ **4a.** Veṇugopāla with consorts. Eastern Chāḷukya. 10-11th centuries A.D. Ht. 22.5 cms. Chimakurti. Government Museum, Madras.



← **4b.** Reverse of pl. 4a.



5a. Decorative lamp-chain. Early Western Chāḷukya. 8th century A.D. Lgth. 122 cms. Jogeshvari caves, Bombay. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.



5b. Vishṇu with consorts. Eastern Gaṅga. 11th century A.D. Ht. 32.7 cms. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



6. Vishāpaharaṇa. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 62 cms. Kīḻapuddanur, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



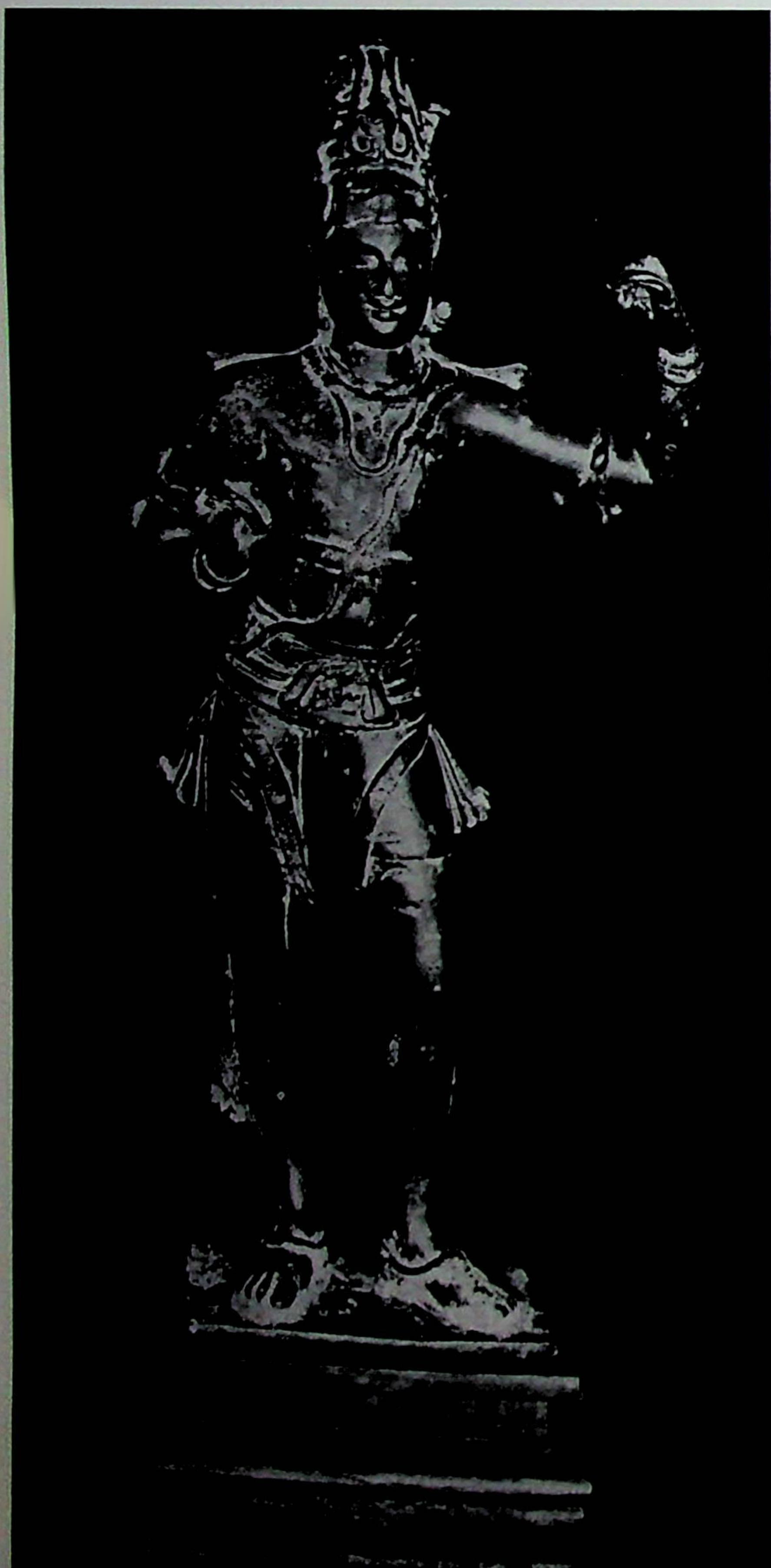
7a. Reverse of pl. 6.



7b. Reverse of pl. 7c.



7c. Naṭarāja. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 55 cms. Kūram, Chingleput District. Government Museum, Madras.



8a. Tripurāntaka. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 64 cms.
Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



8b. Reverse of pl. 8a.





9a. Naṭarāja. Pallava. 9th century A.D. Ht. 88.3 cms. Nallūr, Tañjāvūr District. **9b.** Reverse of pl. 9a.



10a. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 21 cms. N. Y. Sastri's Collection, Adyar, Madras.



10b. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 25 cms. Locality unknown. Government Museum, Madras.







11a. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 15.2 cms. Formerly in the collection of S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari.



11b. Durgā. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 53.3 cms. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



11c. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 16 cms. Indian Museum, Calcutta.



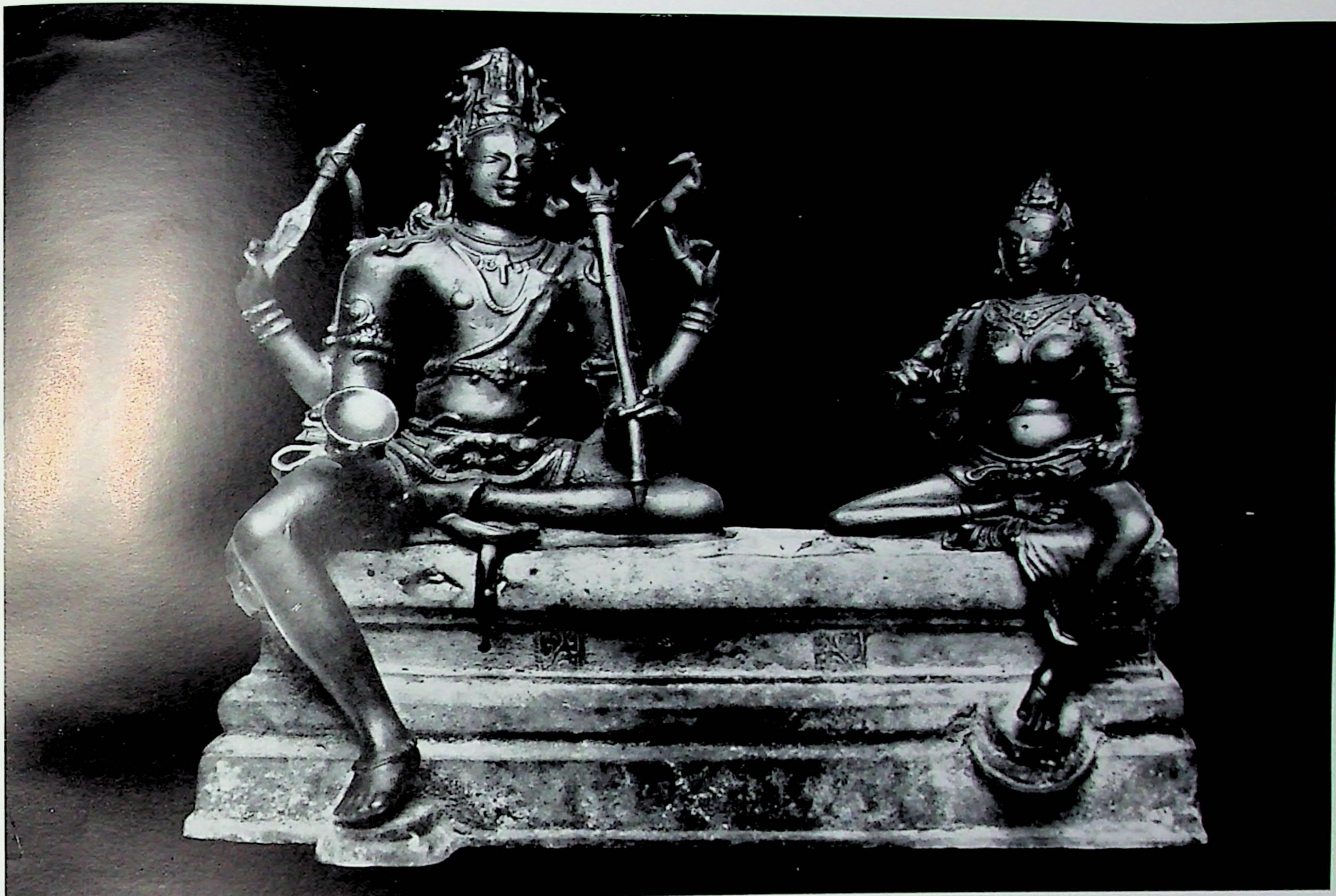
12a. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8th century A.D. Ht. 21 cms. Government Museum, Madras. See Colour Pl. A



12b. Maitreya. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. [illegible] cms. Government Museum, Madras.



12c. Reverse of pl. 12b.



13a. Somāskanda. Pallava-Choḷa transition. 9th century A.D. Ht. 28 cms. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.



13b. Reverse of pl. 13a



14b. Vishṇu. Pallava. 9th century A.D. Ht. 17.6 cms. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.



14a. Vishṇu. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 28.8 cms. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.



14c. Siṁhanāda. Pallava. 8-9th centuries A.D. Ht. 10.3 cms. Government Museum, Madras.



15a. Trivikrama. Pallava. 8th century A.D. Ht. approx. 45 cms. estimated originally. Śiṅganallur, Coimbatore District.



15b. Vishṇu. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. about 120 cms. Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District.



16. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 72 cms. Tiruvaraṅgulam, former Pudukkottai State. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



17a. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 84 cms. Originally in the temple of Konerirājapuram, Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



17b. Reverse of pl. 17a.



18. Kalyāṇasundara. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. about 80 cms. Tiruvelvikkudi. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



19a. Detail of Pārvatī of pl. 18.



19b. Detail of Śiva of pl. 18.



19c. Reverse of pl. 18.



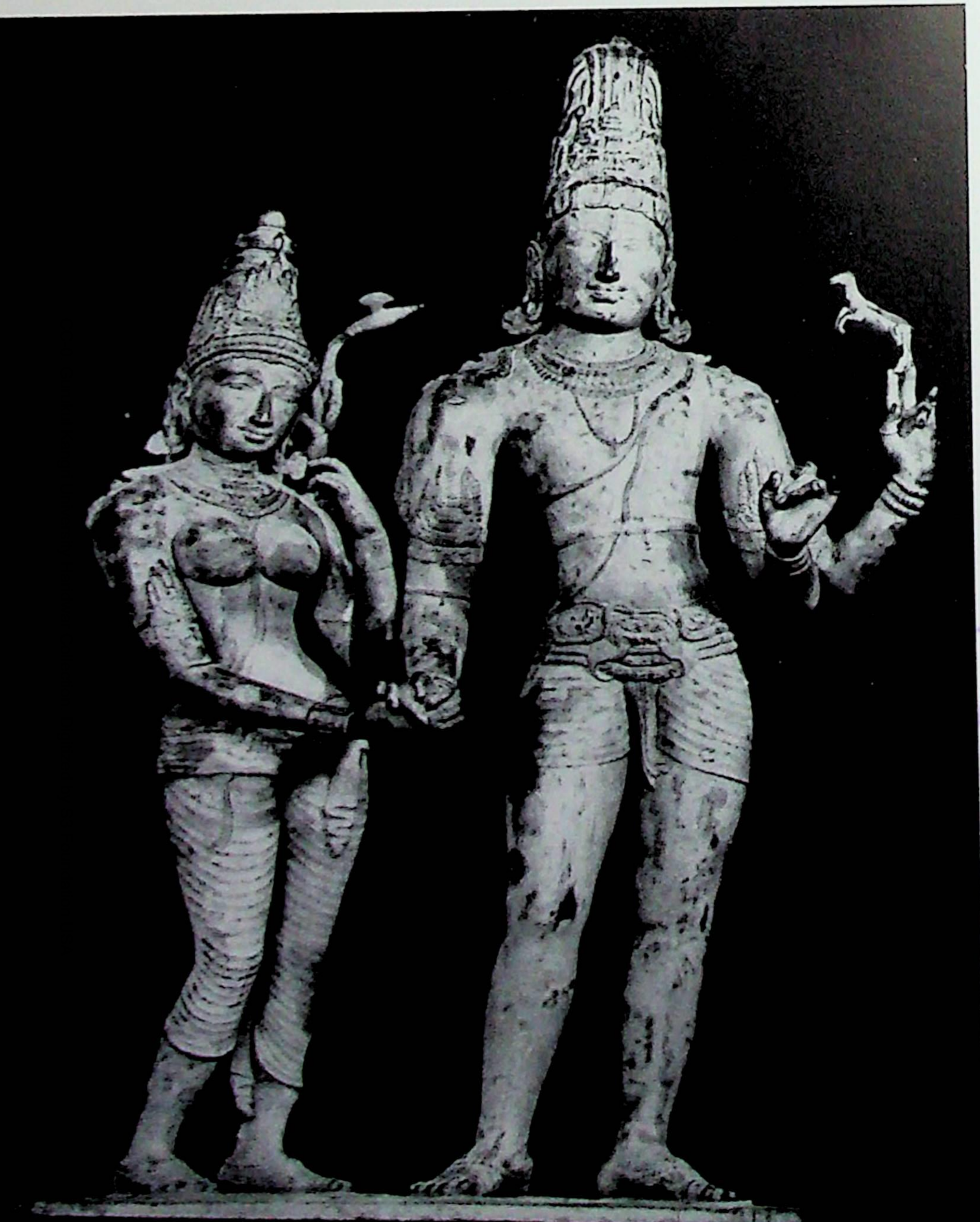
20a. Vṛishavāhana with consort. Pallava. 8th century A.D. Hts. 52.7 cms. and 63.5 cms. Bhedwar Collection, Bombay.



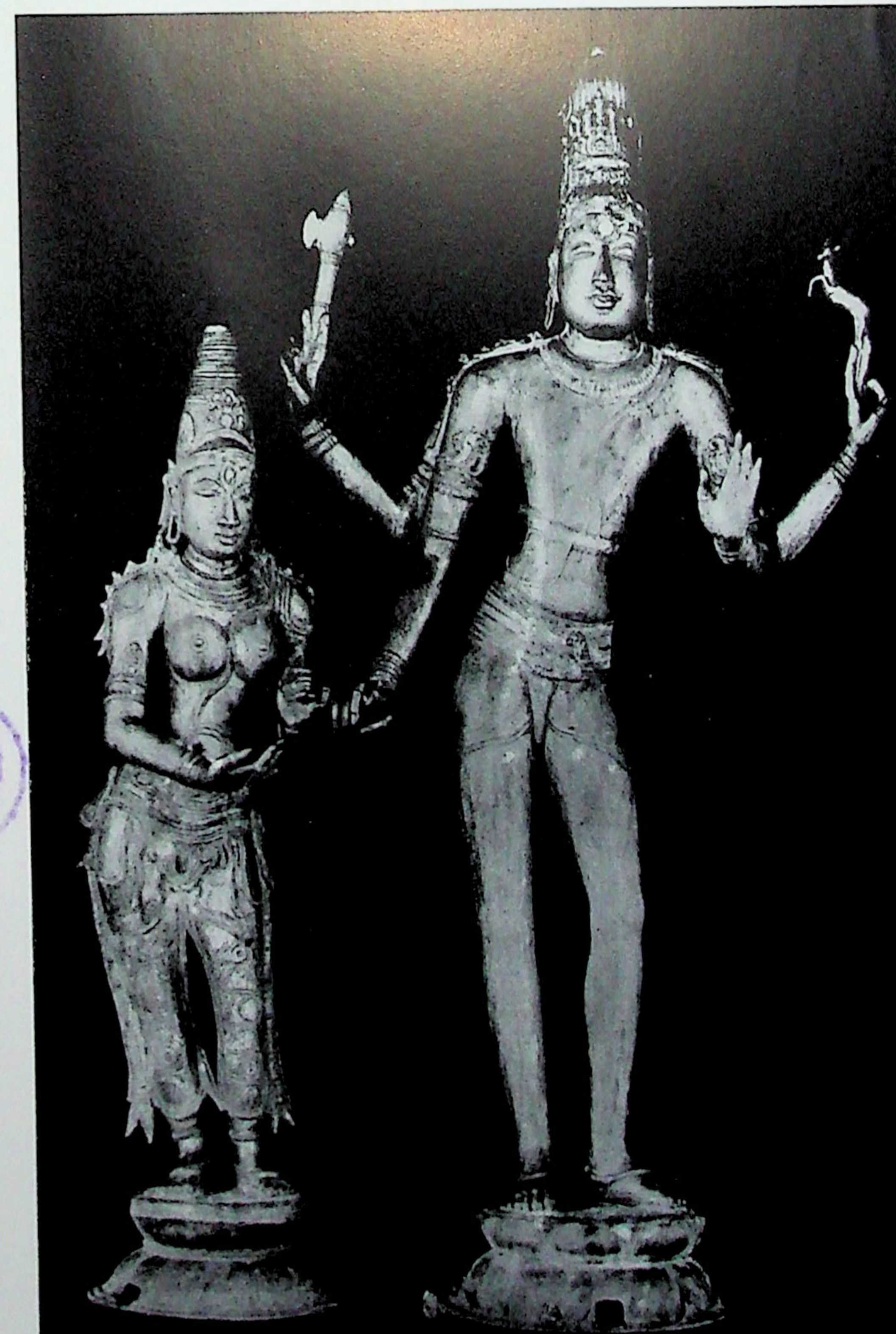
20b. Kulottuṅga. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. about 38 cms. Originally in the temple, Kālahasti.



20c. Choḷamā Devī. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. about 76 cms. Originally in the temple, Kālahasti.



21a. Kalyāṇasundara. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 96.5 cms. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr. (Part of Pl. 85)



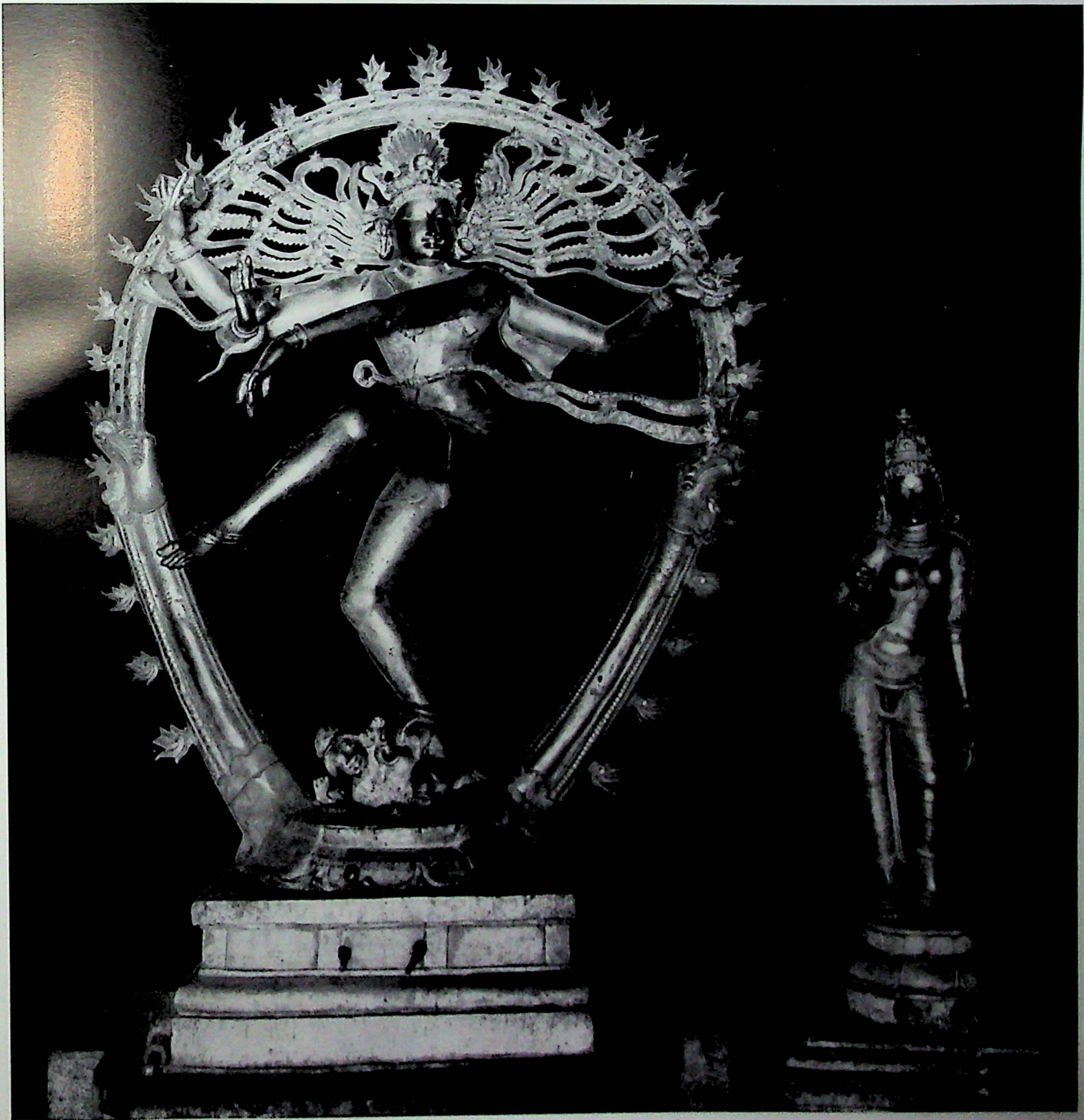
21b. Kalyāṇasundara. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 113 cms. Tiruvottiyūr, Madras.



22a. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 70 cms. Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



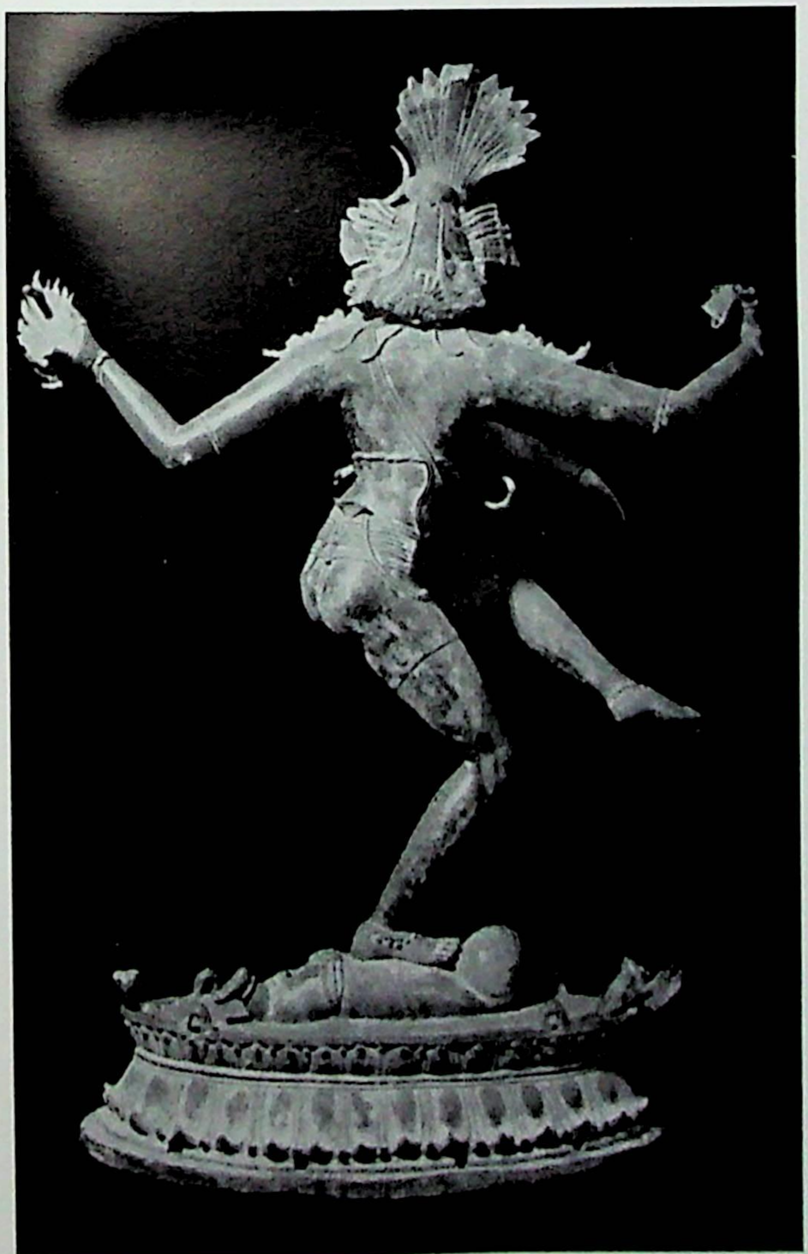
22b. Śivakāmasundarī. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 64 cms. Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



23. Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī. Early Chola, 1000 A.D. Ht. about 135 cms. Bṛihadīśvara temple, Tañjāvūr.



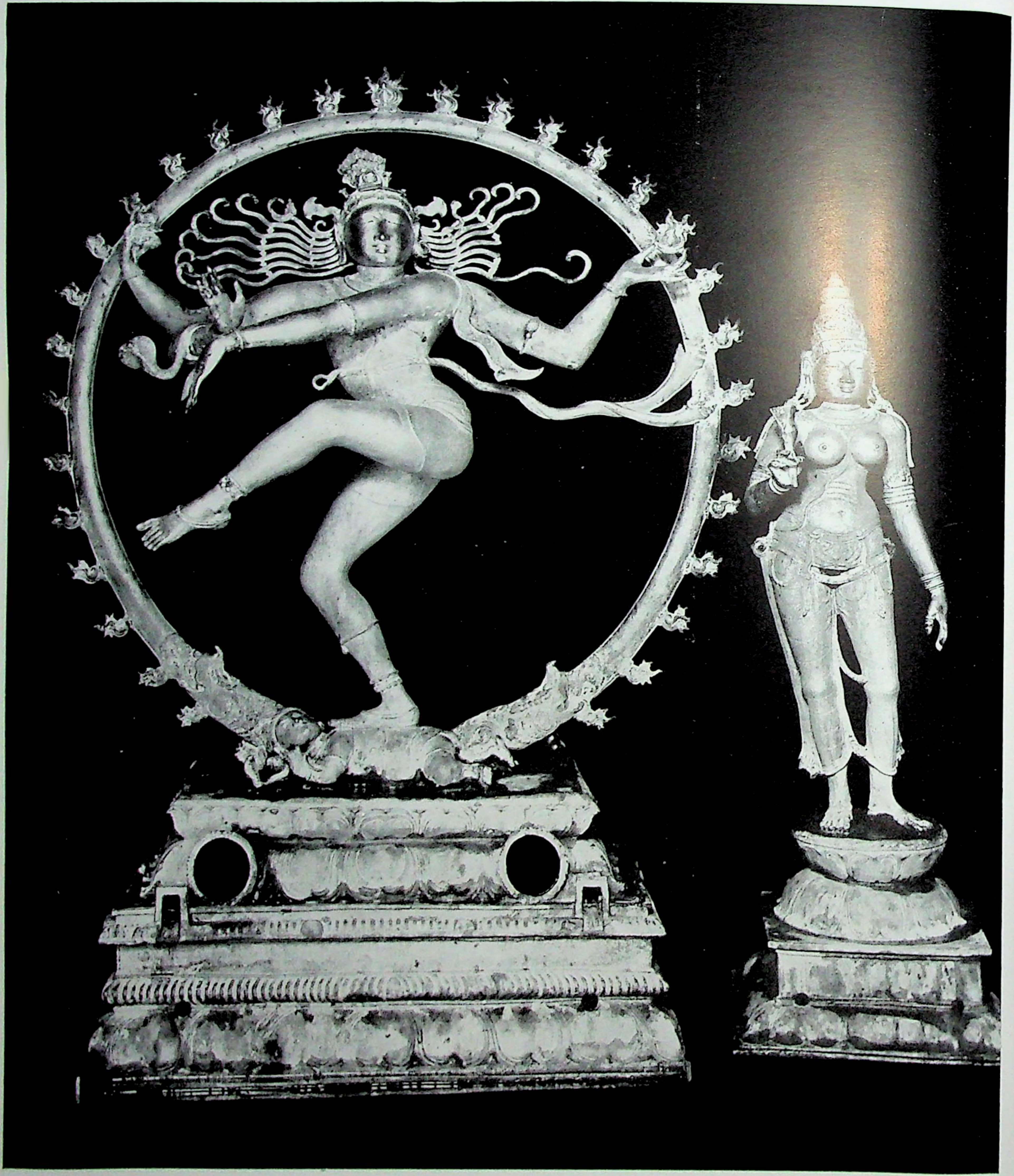
24. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 114.5 cms. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.



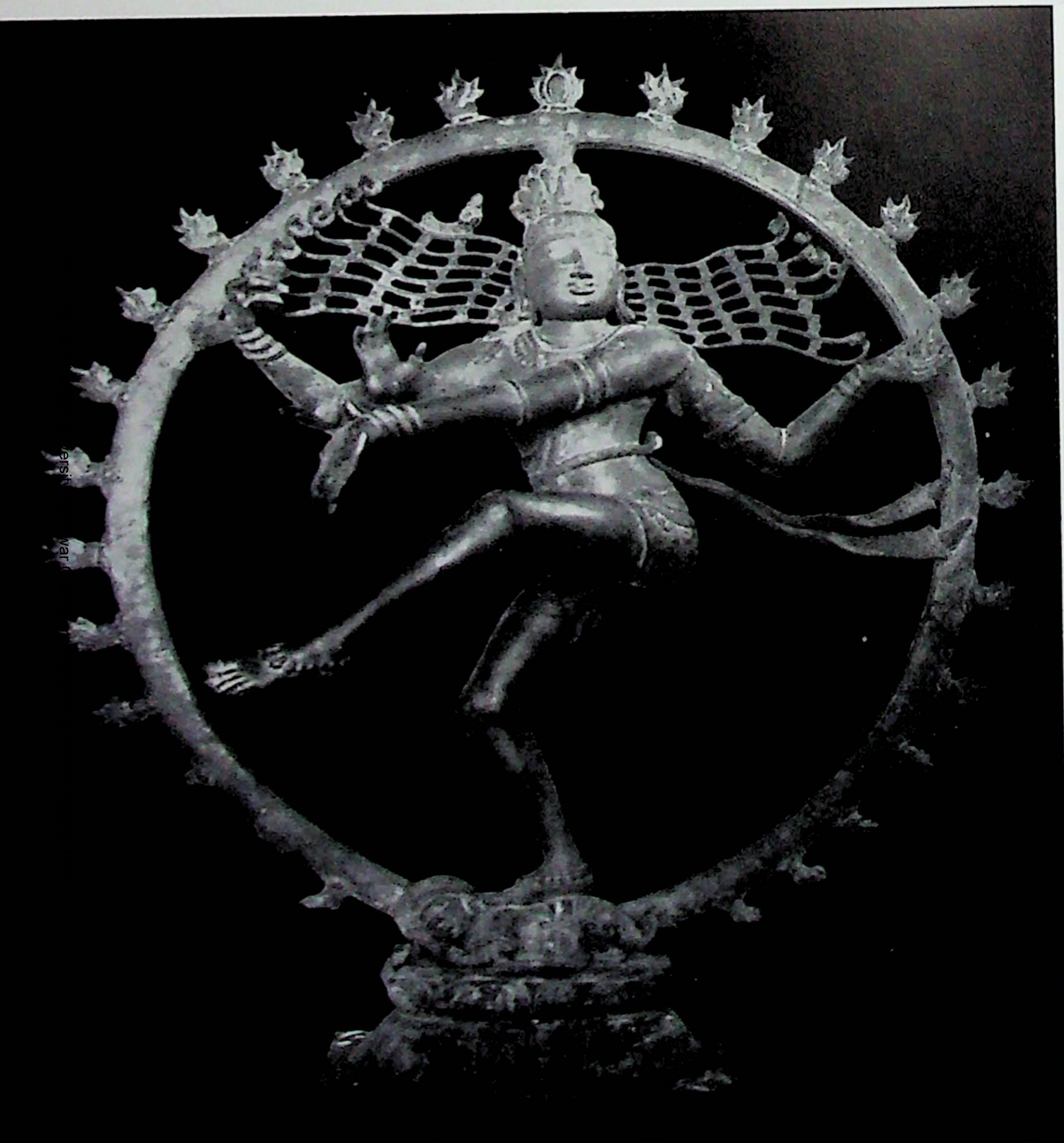
25a. Reverse of pl. 24.



25b. Devasenāpati. Early Chola. 11th century A.D. Ht. 86.5 cms. Gangaikoṇḍacholapuram, Tiruchirapalli District.



26. Naṭarāja and Śivakāmasundarī. Late Chola. 12th century A.D. Ht. about 145 cms. Kunnāndārkoil, former Pudukkoṭṭai State.



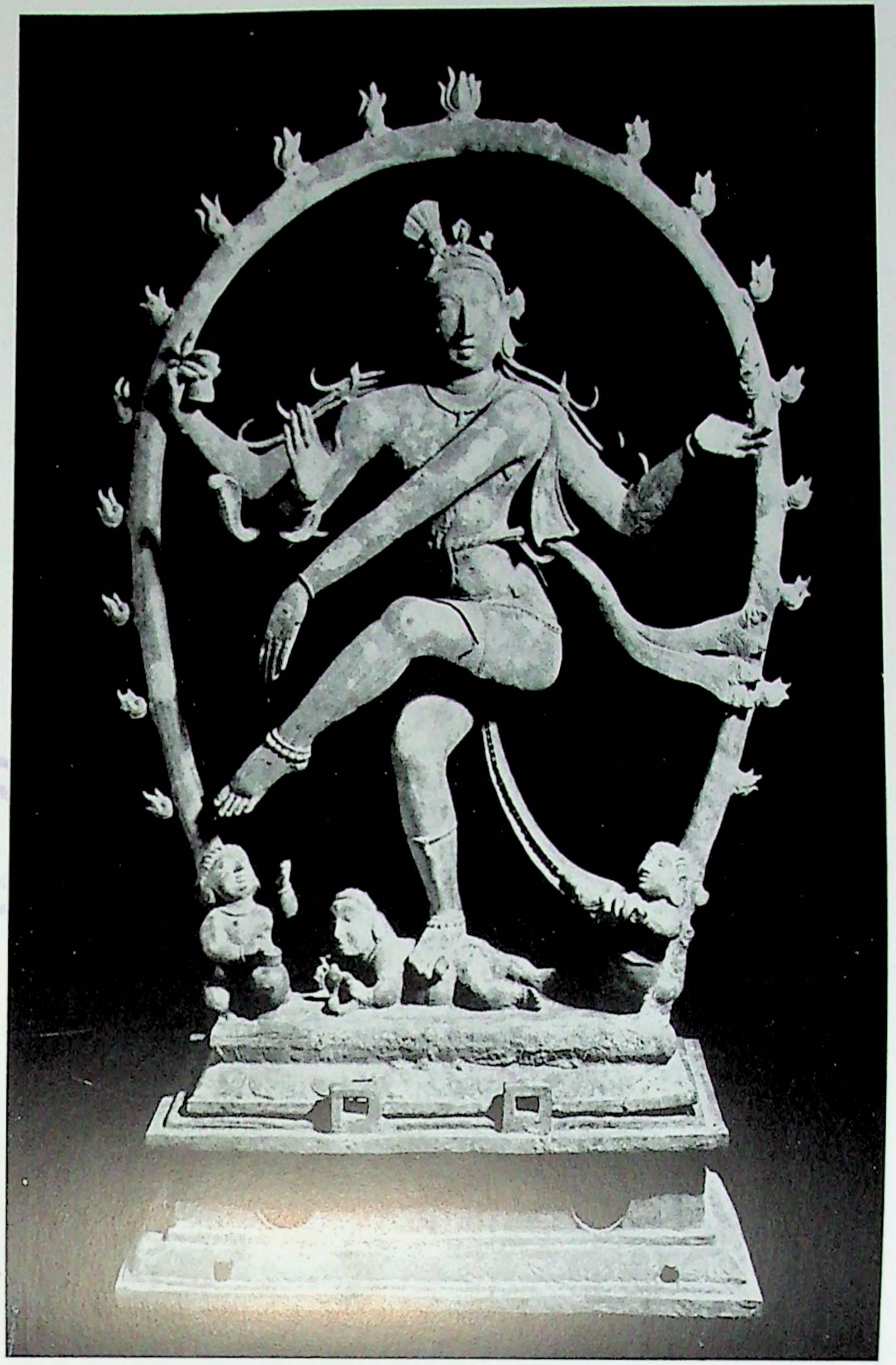
a. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Śiyāḻī, Tañjāvūr District.



27b. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 111.3 cms. Velānkaṇṇi. Government Museum, Madras.



28a. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 85 cms. Puṅganūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



28b. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 90 cms. Melaperumbaḷḷam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



29a. Tripurāntaka and Tripurasundarī. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 45 and 40 cms. Tranquebar (Taraṅgambāḍi), Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



29b. Ardhanārīśvara. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 100 cms. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras. See Colour Frontispiece.



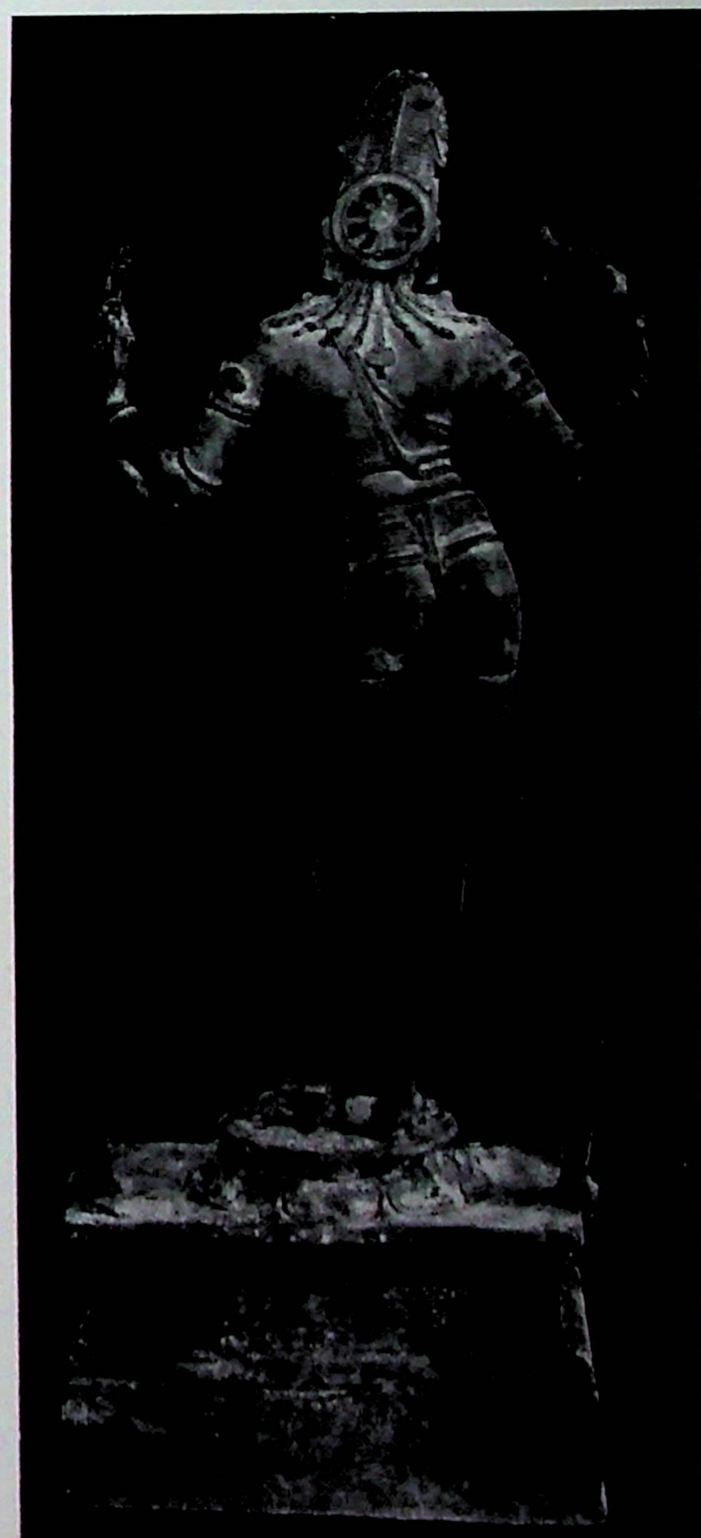


30a. Śiva as Vishāpaharaṇa. Eastern Chāḷukya. 10th century. Ht. 49 cms. Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City.

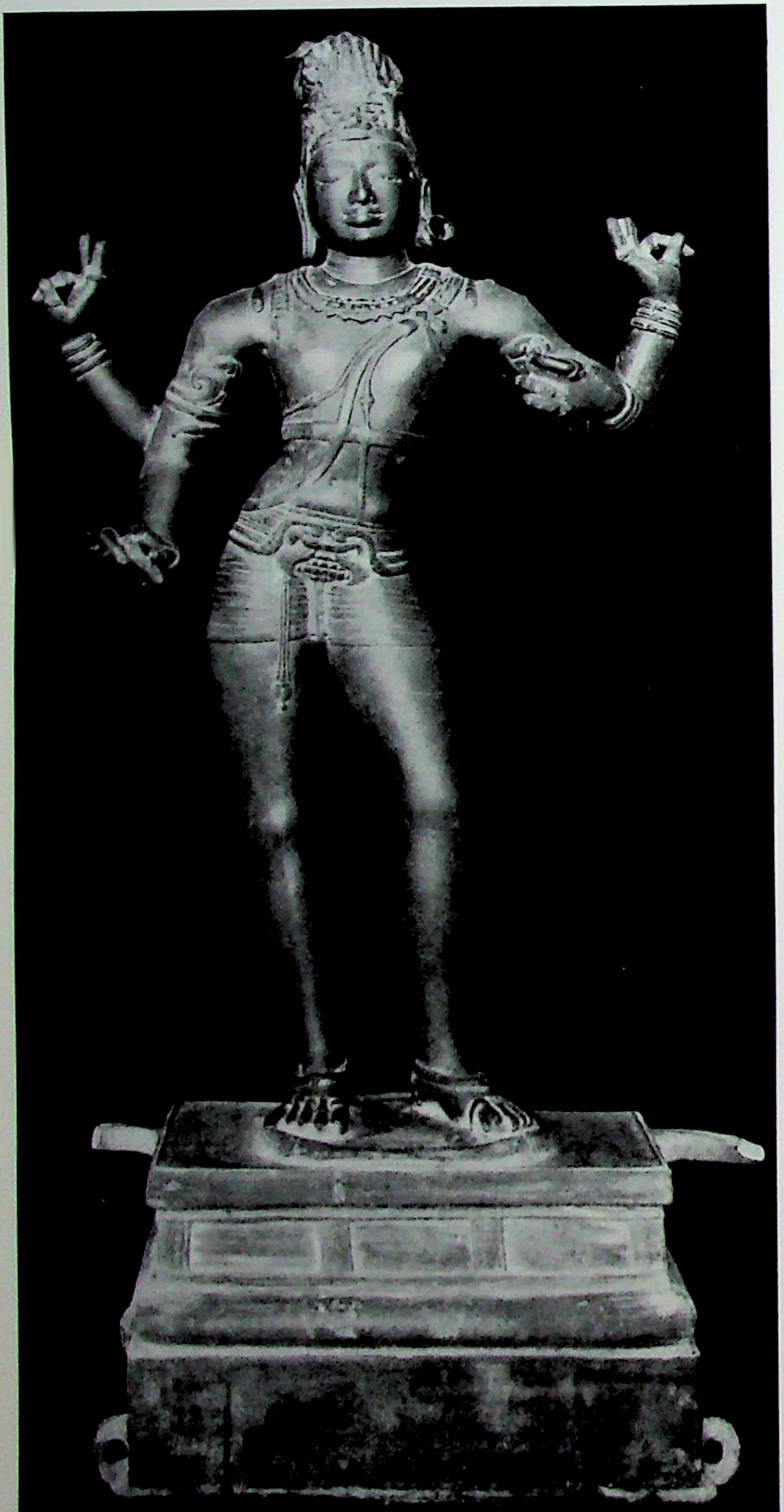
30b. Reverse of pl. 30a.



31a. Vīṇādhara. Early Chola. 10th century A.D. Ht. 70 cms. Tiruppurambiyam, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



31b. Reverse of pl. 31a.



32a. Kirātamūrti. Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. Ht. 91.5 cms. Tiruveḷvikkuḍi. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



32b. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. about 65 cms. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



33b. Tripurāntakamūrti. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. 76 cms. Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



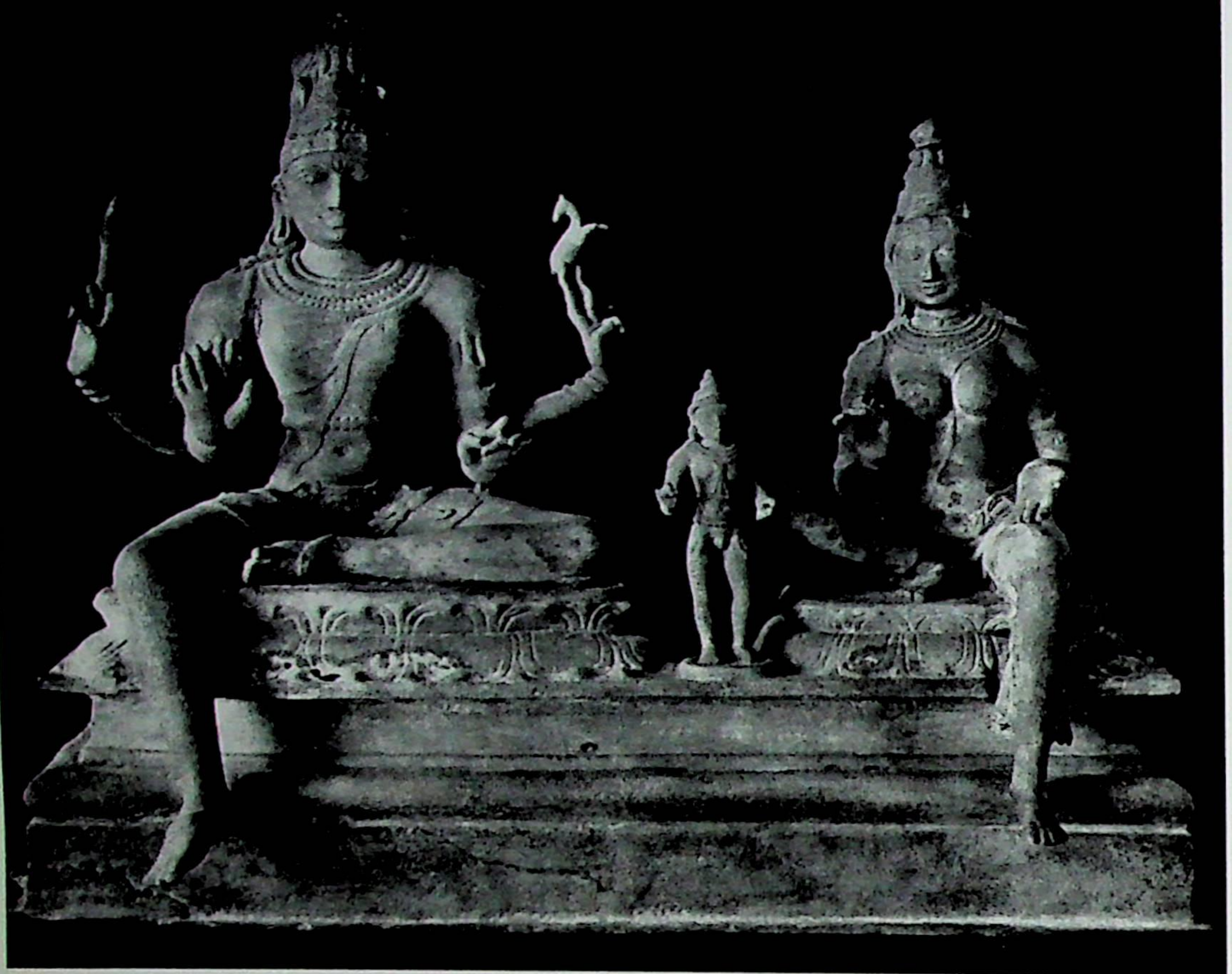
33a. Tripurāntaka. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 86.5 cms. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



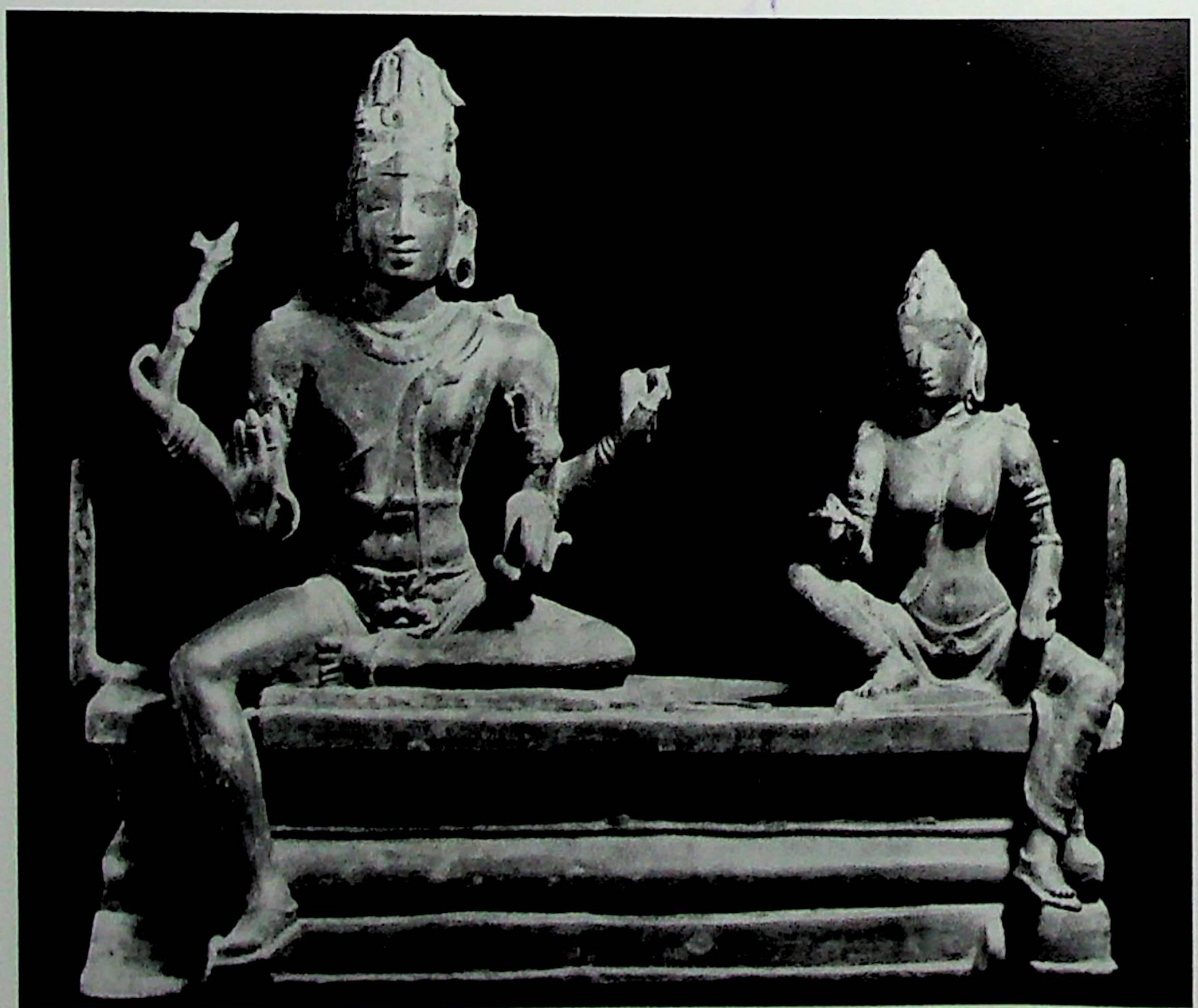
34. Tripurāntaka. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 109 cms. Tiruviḍaimarudūr. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



35. Somāskanda. Early Choḷa. Later half of the 10th century A.D. Ht. 57 cms. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



36a. Somāskanda. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 50 cms. Nīḍūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



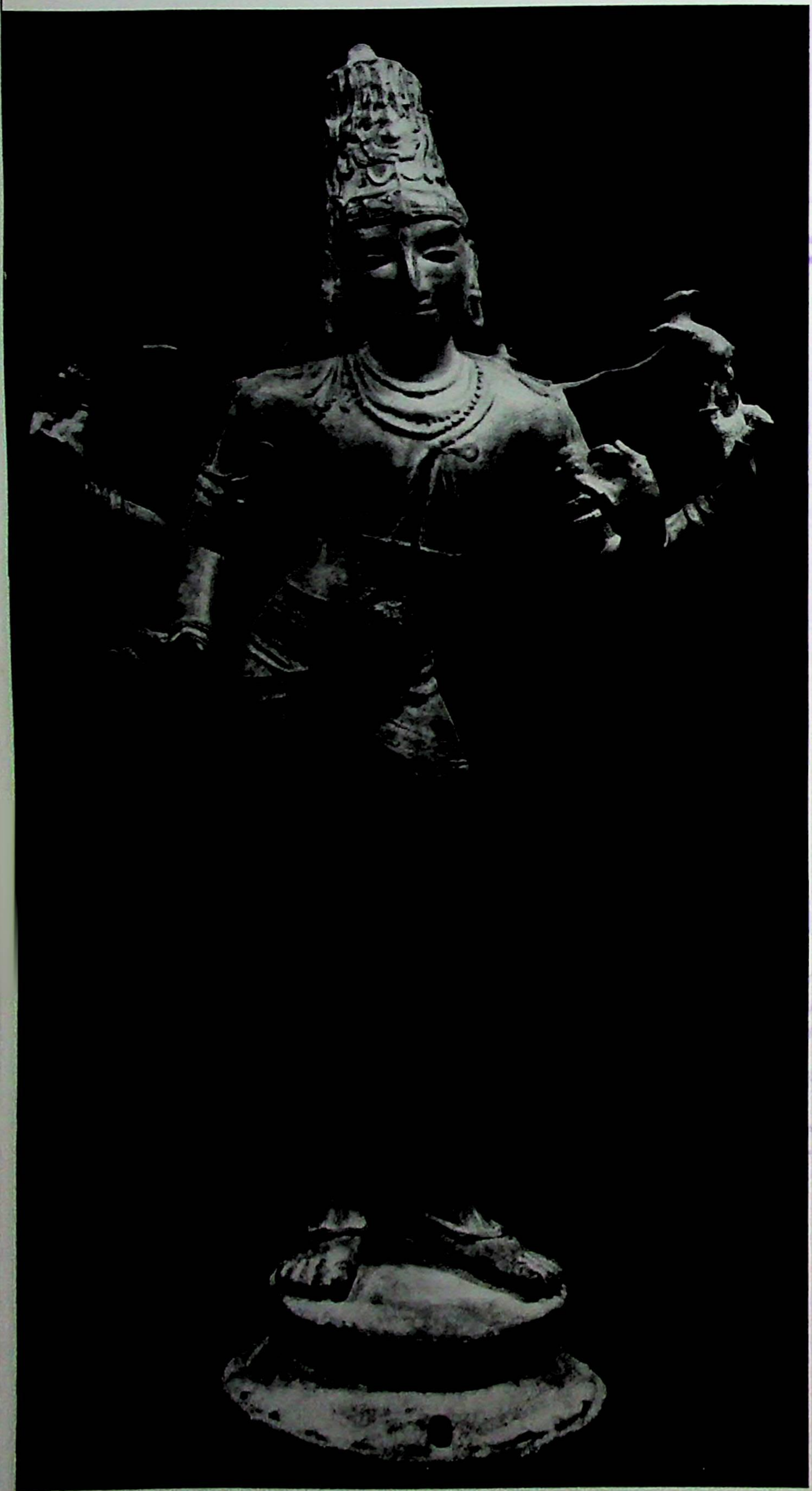
36b. Somāskanda. Pallava-Choḷa transition. Early 10th century A.D. Ht. 48.3 cms. Śorakkuḍi. Government Museum, Madras.



37a. Sukhāsana. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 76 cms. Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



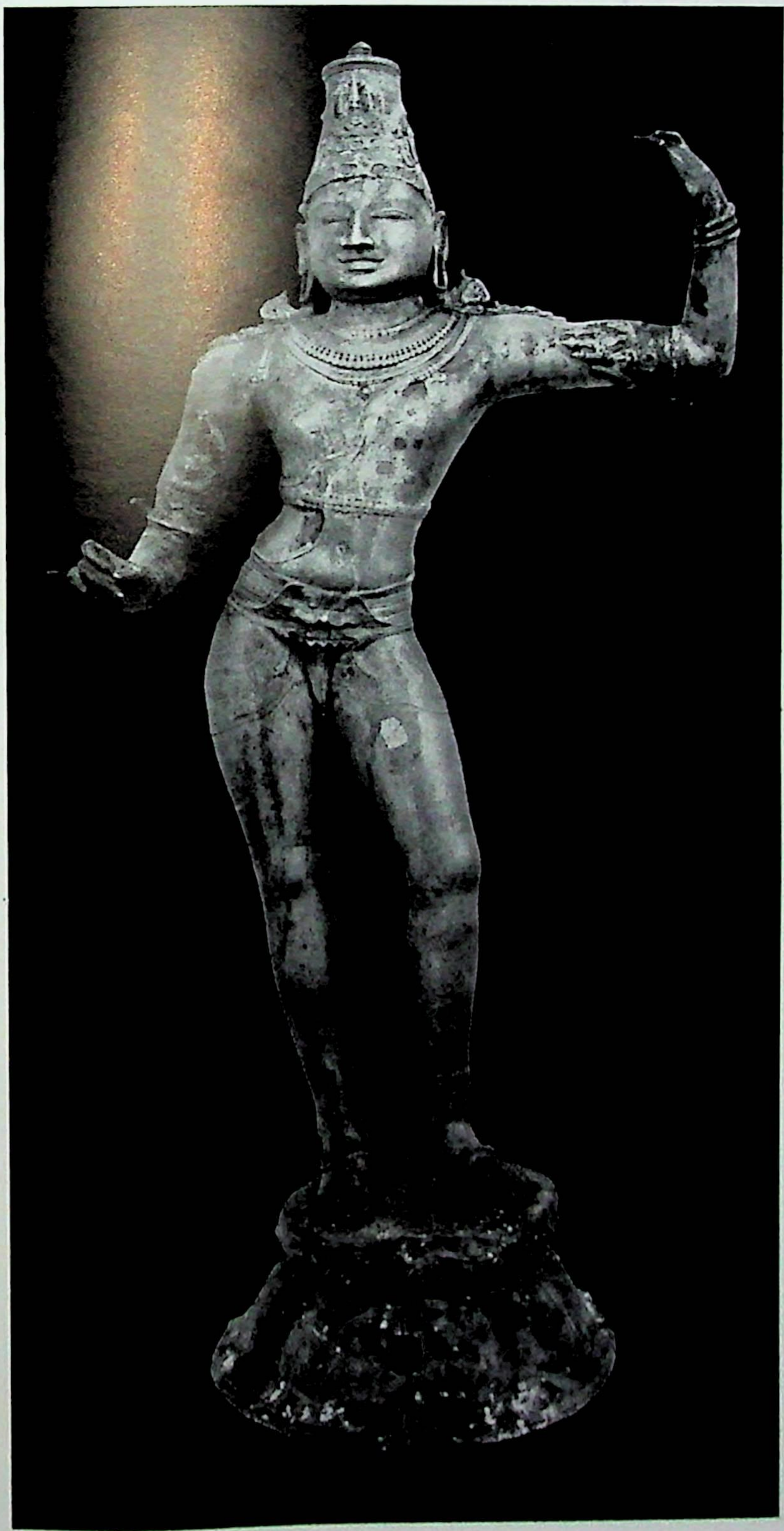
37b. Śiva from Umāsahita group. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 68 cms. Kiḷayūr in Tirukkovilūr, South Arcot District. Government Museum, Madras.



38a. Vīṇādhara. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Musée Guimet, Paris.



38b. Vīṇādhara. Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. Ht. 86 cms. Śeyyanam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



39a. Rāma. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. In Sundaraperumāl Temple, Veḷārpuram, North Arcot District.



39b. Kṛishṇa. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. In Sundaraperumāl Temple, Veḷārpuram, North Arcot District.



40a. Râma. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 112 cms. Vaḍakkupaṇayūr Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



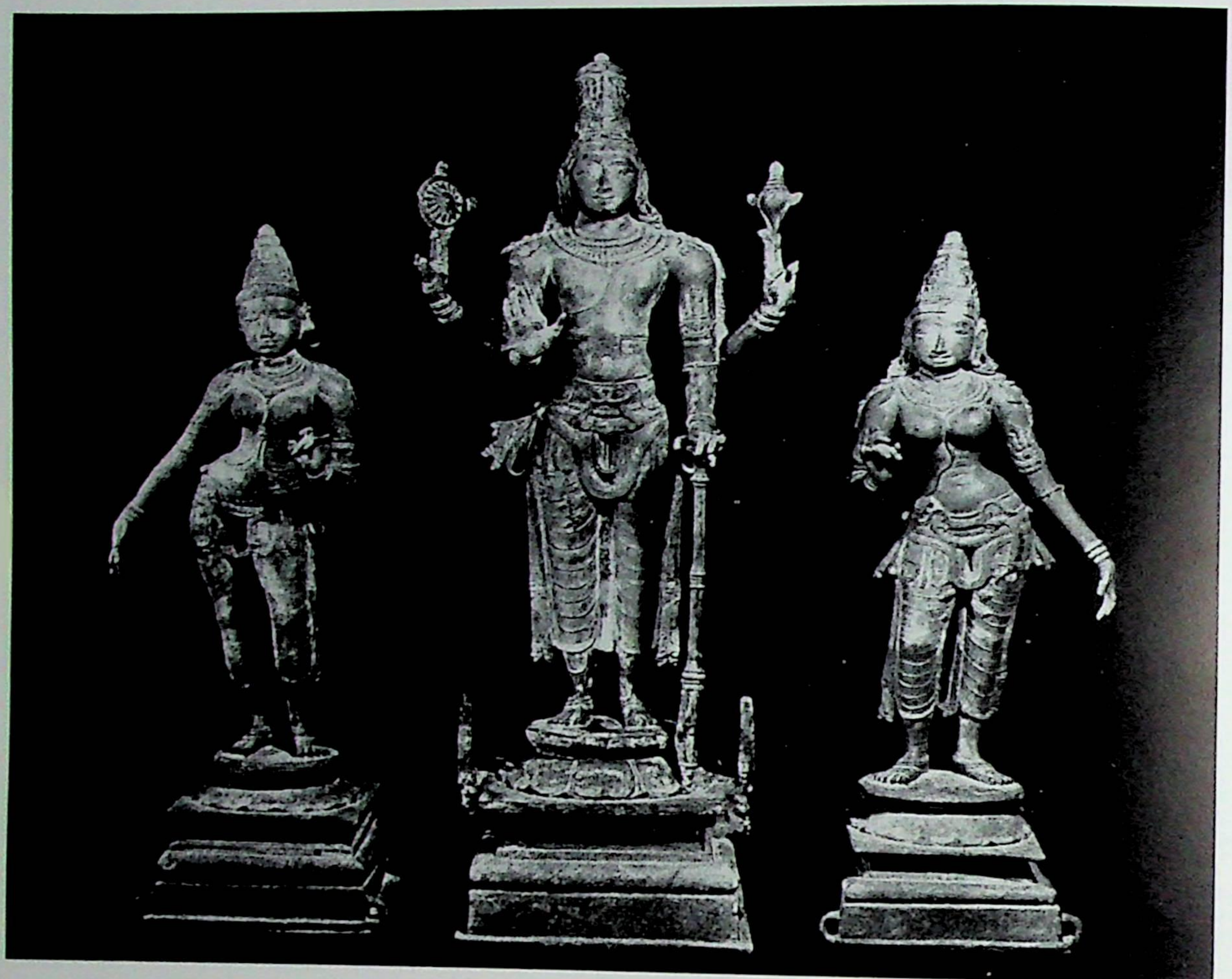
40b. Sītā. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 88 cms. Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



41a. Lakshmaṇa. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 95 cms. Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



41b. Hanumān. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 58 cms. Vaḍakkupaṇayūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



42a. Vishṇu with consorts. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 83 cms. Peruntoṭṭam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras. (For detail of Śrīdevī, see pl. 95 a.)



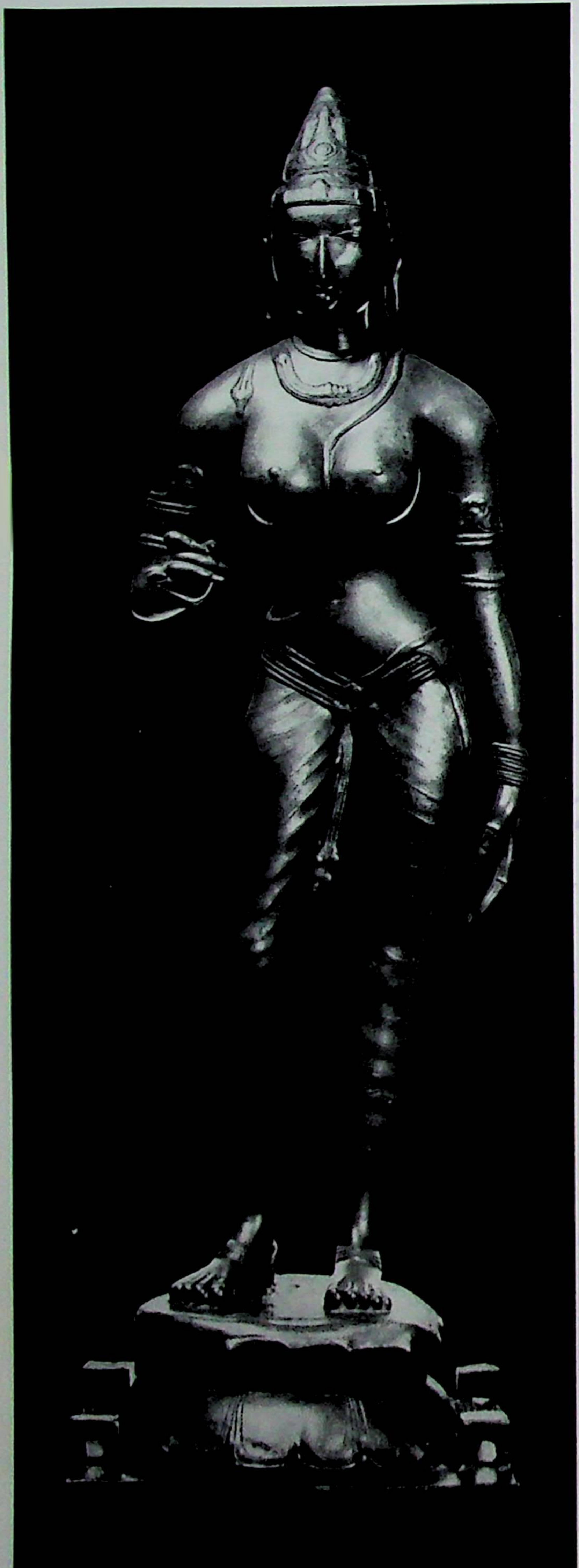
42b. Śrīnivasa No. 1. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 44 cms. Sirupanayūr. Tañjāvūr District.



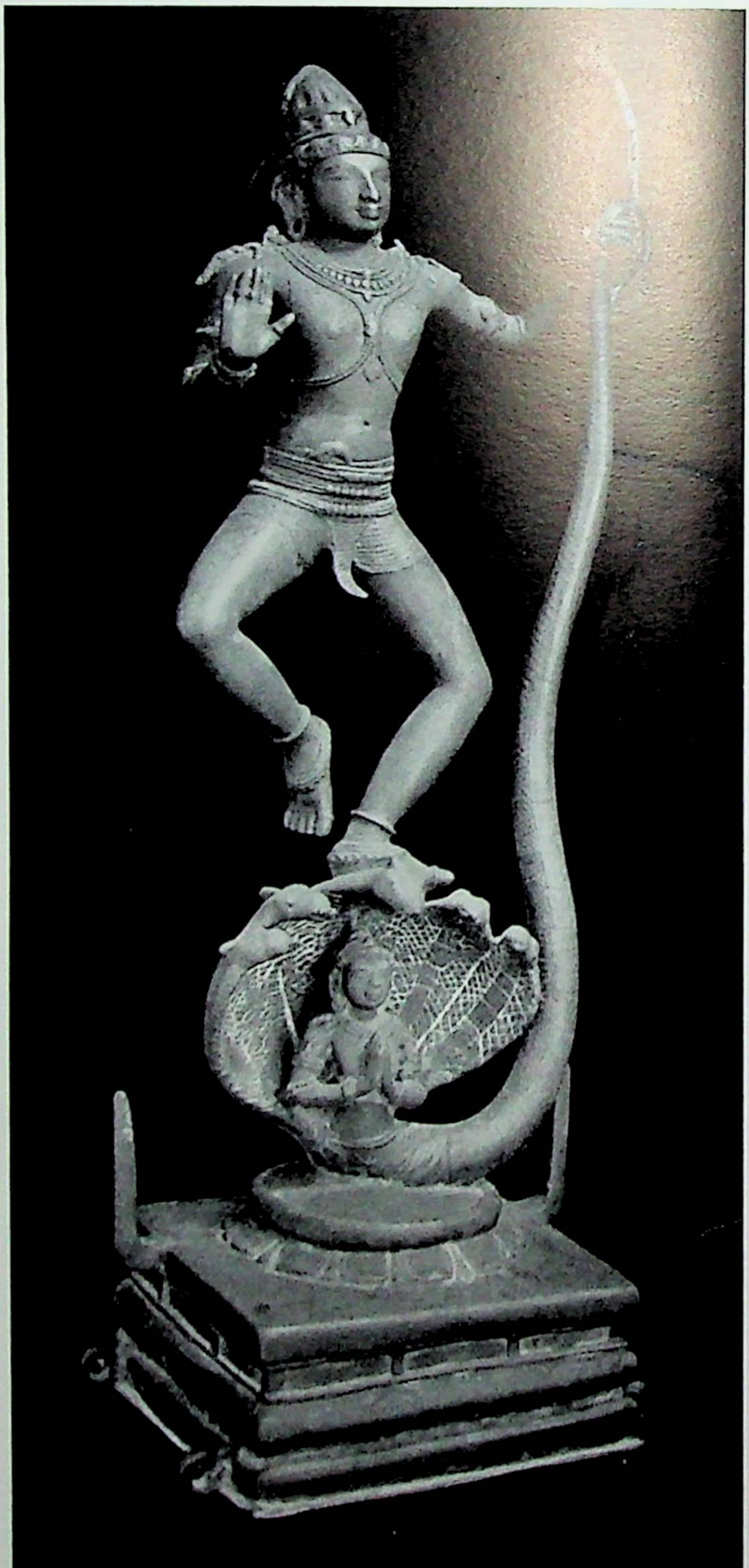
43a. Detail of Rāma of pl. 43b.



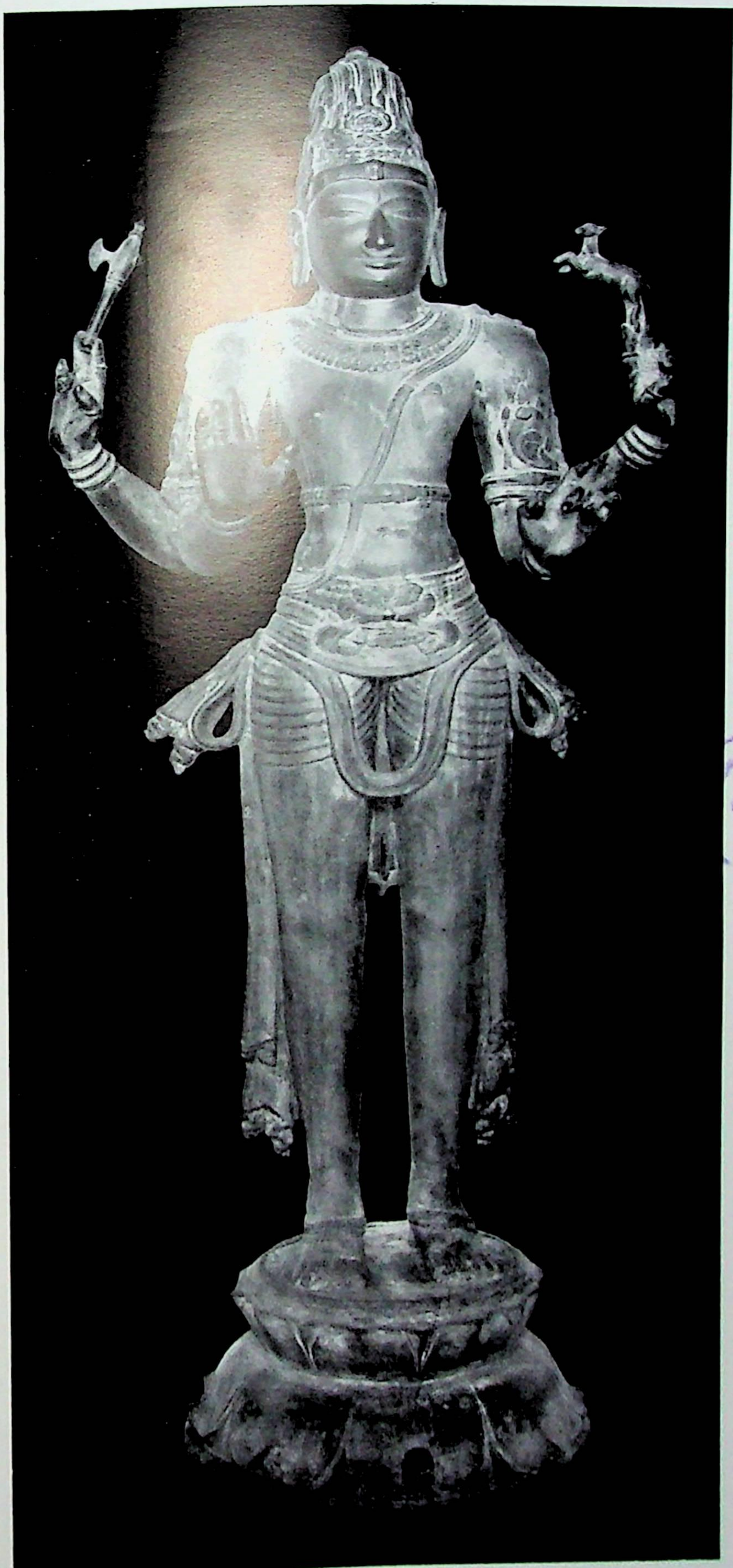
43b. Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Sītā. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Hts. 60.6 cms., 92.3 cms., 73 cms. Paruttiyūr, Tañjāvūr District.



44a. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. 92 cms.
Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



44b. Kāliya-Kṛishṇa. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. 59 cms.
N.V. Sastri Collection, Adyar, Madras.



45a. Chandraśekhara. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. 61 cms. Dharmapuram-ādhīnam, Tañjāvūr District.



45b. Brahmaśāstā. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Kīlayūr, Tañjāvūr District.



6a. Gaṇeśa. Early Choḷa. End of the 10th century A.D. Ht. 52 cms. Velānkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



46b. Aiyanār. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 45 cms. Locality unknown. Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



47a. Māheśvarī. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 50 cms. Veḷāṅkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



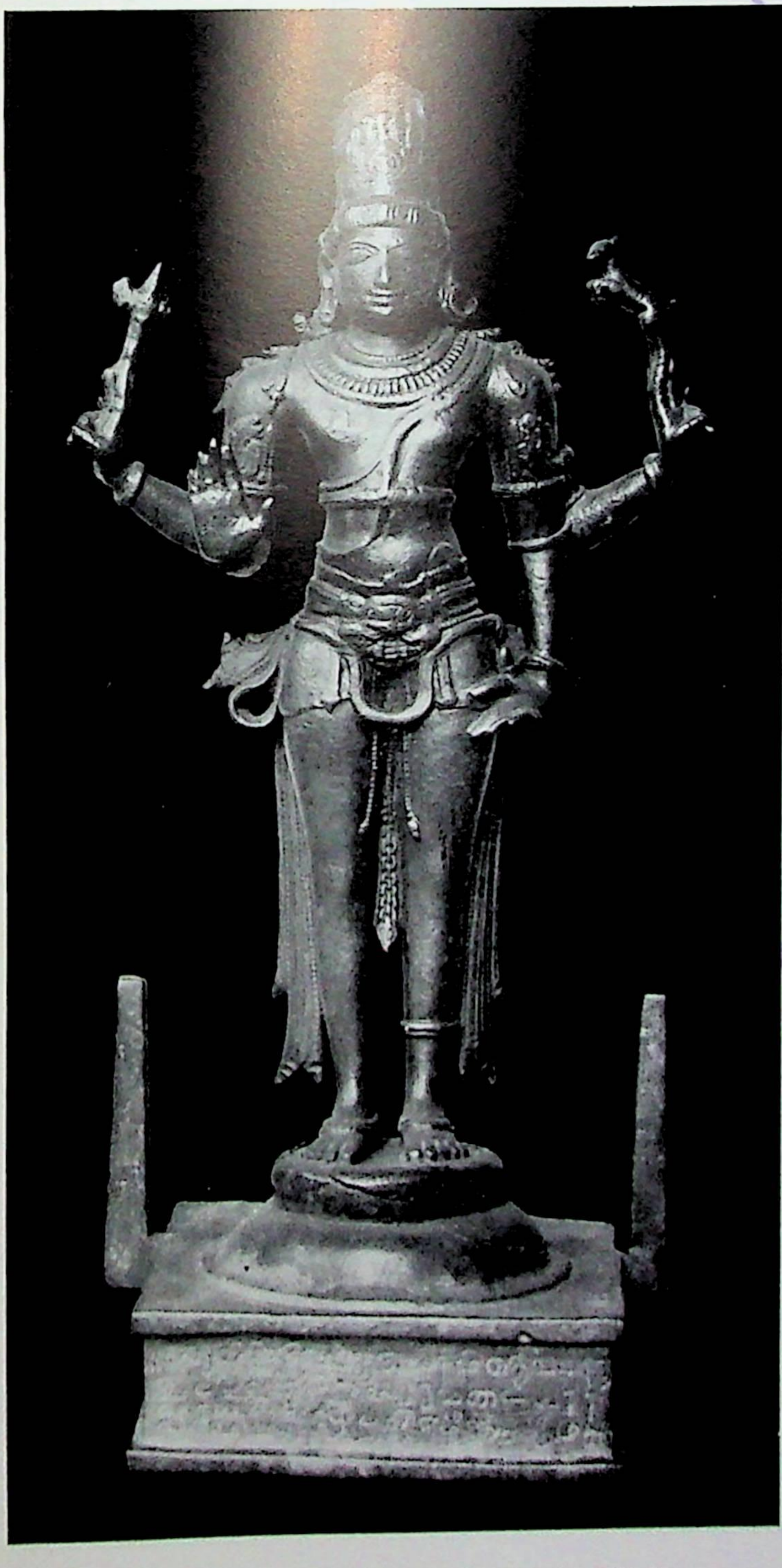
47b. Aiyanār on elephant. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 57 cms. Togūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



48a. Māheśvarī. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 75 cms. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



48b. Kālī. Early Chola. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 44 cms. Śenniyanviḍudi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



49a. Chandraśekhara. Late Choḷa. 11-12th centuries A.D. Ht. 34 cms. Presented by Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil, Musée Guimet, Paris.



49b. Gaṇeśa. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 45 cms. Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Trivandrum Museum.



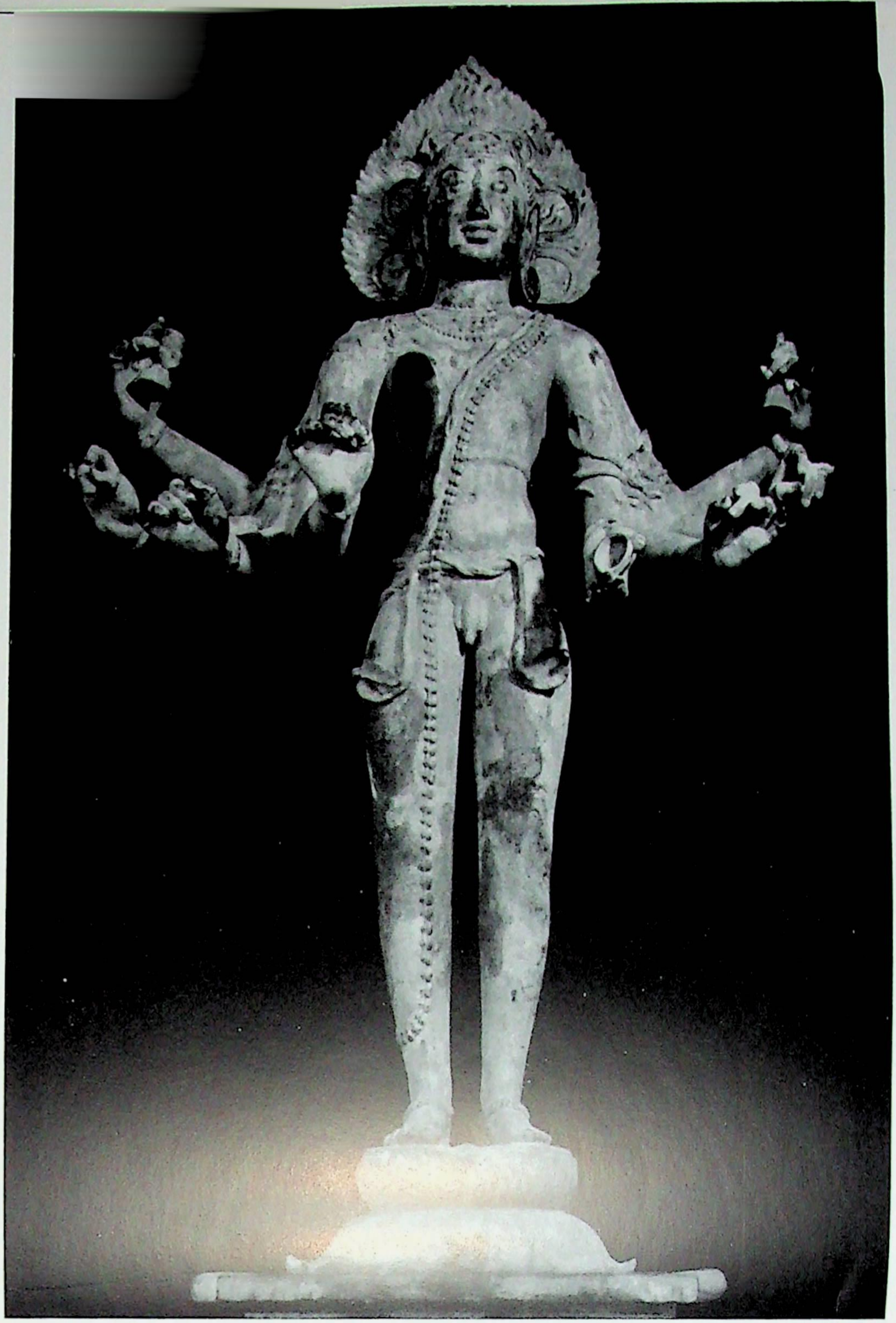
50. Mahishamardinī. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 75 cms. Turaikāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



51. Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti and Devī. Late Choḷa. 12-13th centuries A.D. Vedāraṇyam, Tañjāvūr District.



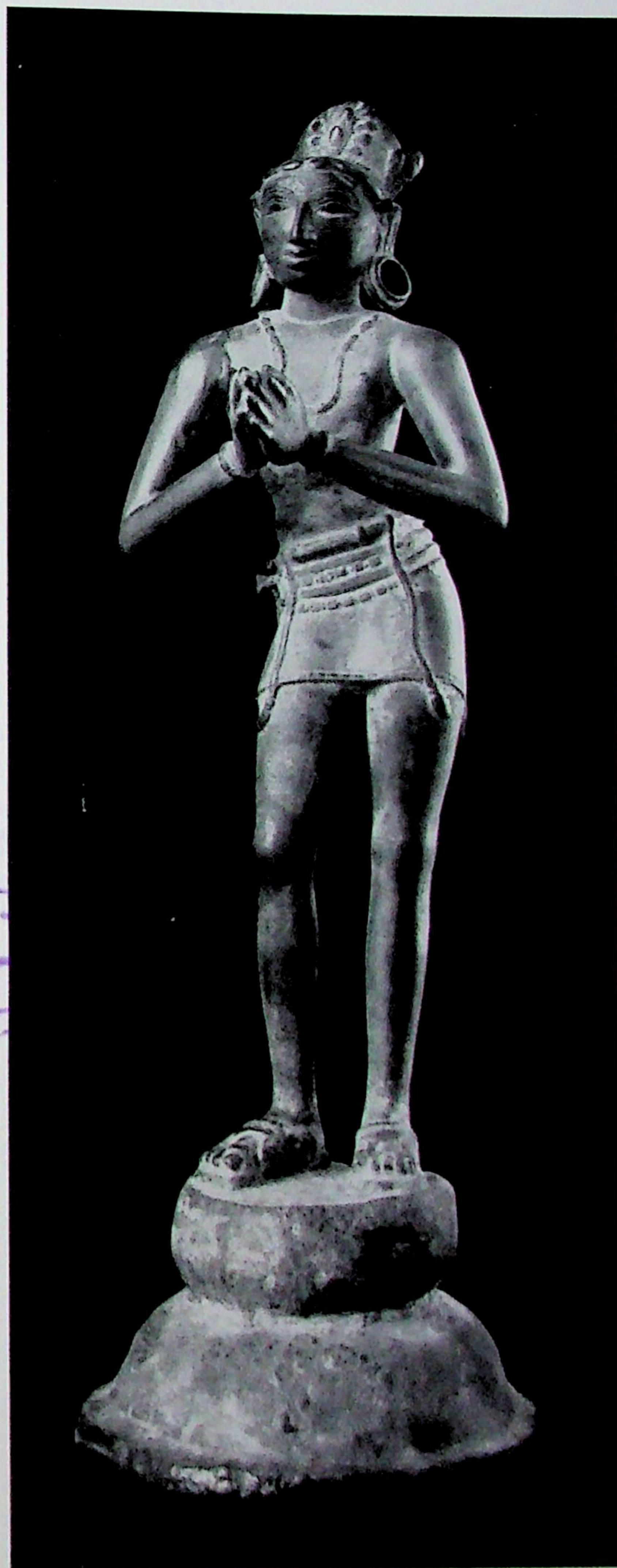
a. Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti. Early Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. harmapuram-ādhīnam maṭh. Tañjāvūr District.



52b. Bhairava. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 109 cms. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



53a. Chaṇḍikeśvara. Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. Ht. 44 cms. Okkūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



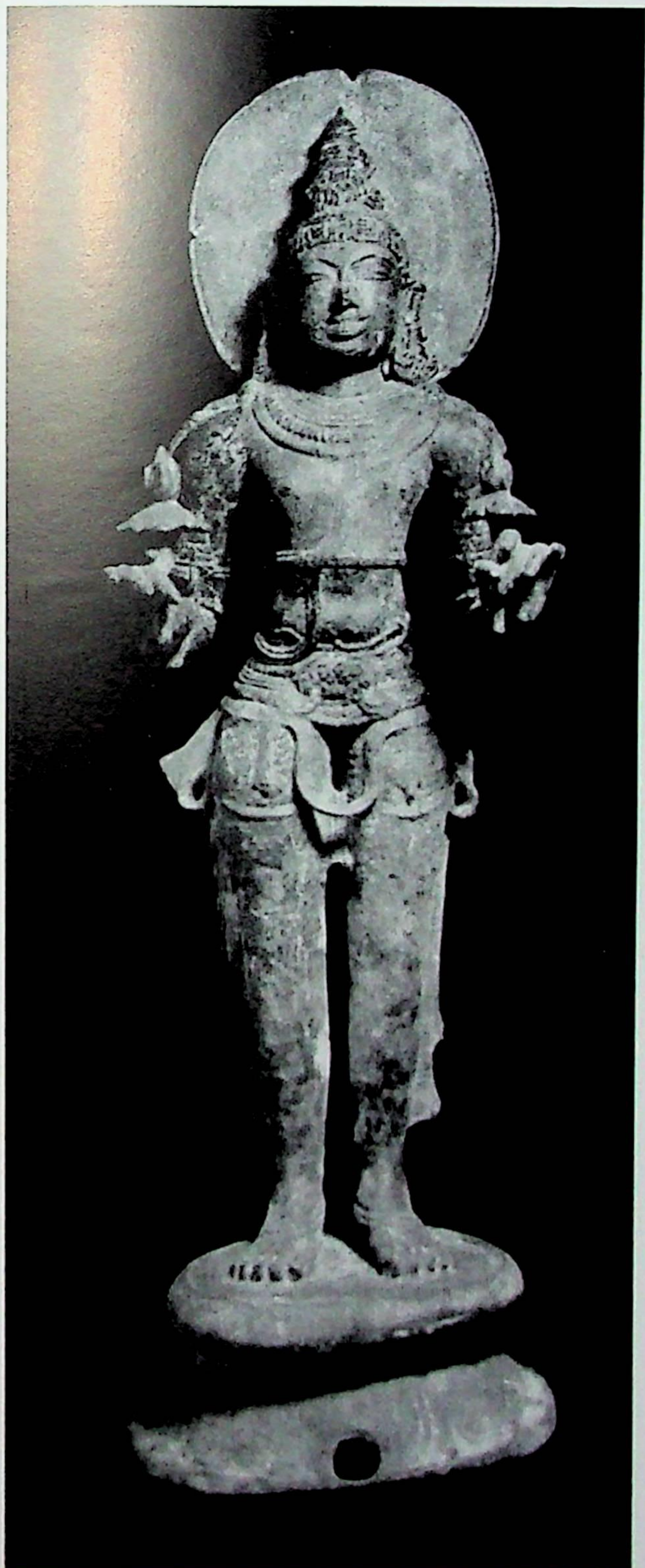
53b. Kannappa. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 50 cms. Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. Government Museum, Madras.



54a. Chaṇḍikeśvara. Early Choḷa. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 66 cms. Veḷāṅkaṇṇi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



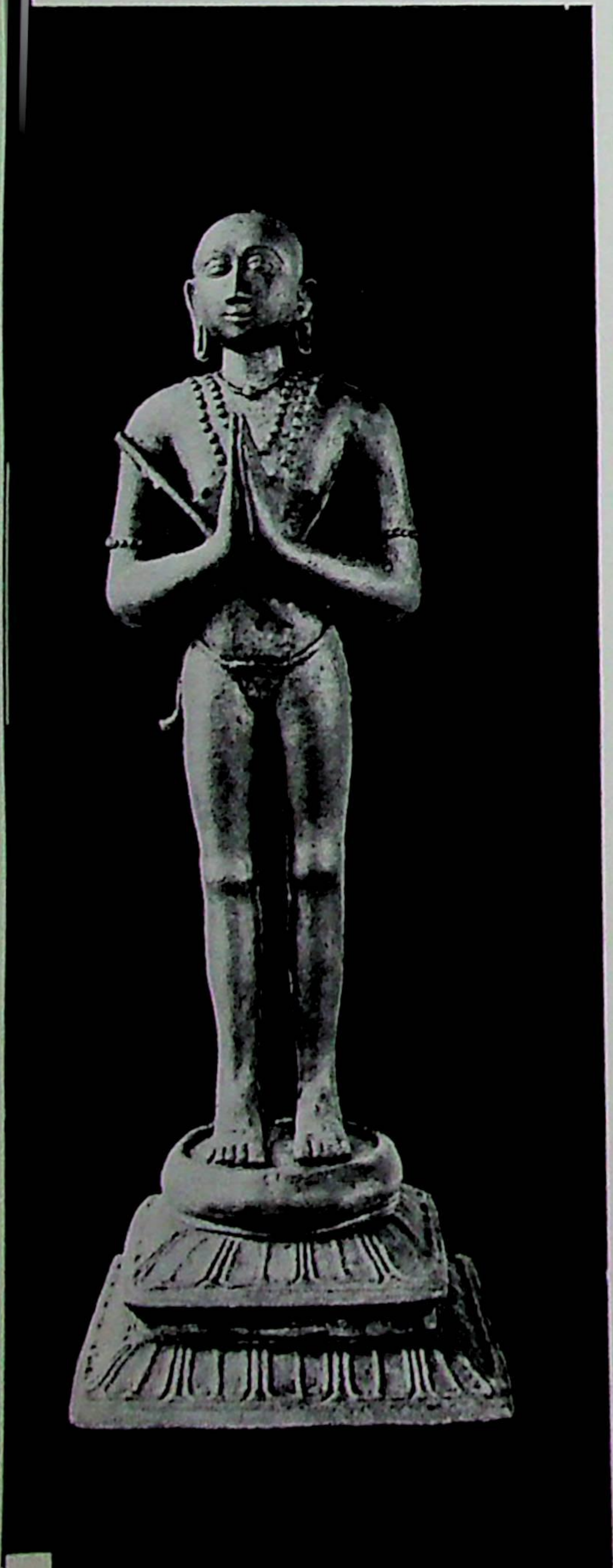
54b. Chaṇḍikeśvara. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 63 cms. Belūr. Government Museum, Madras.



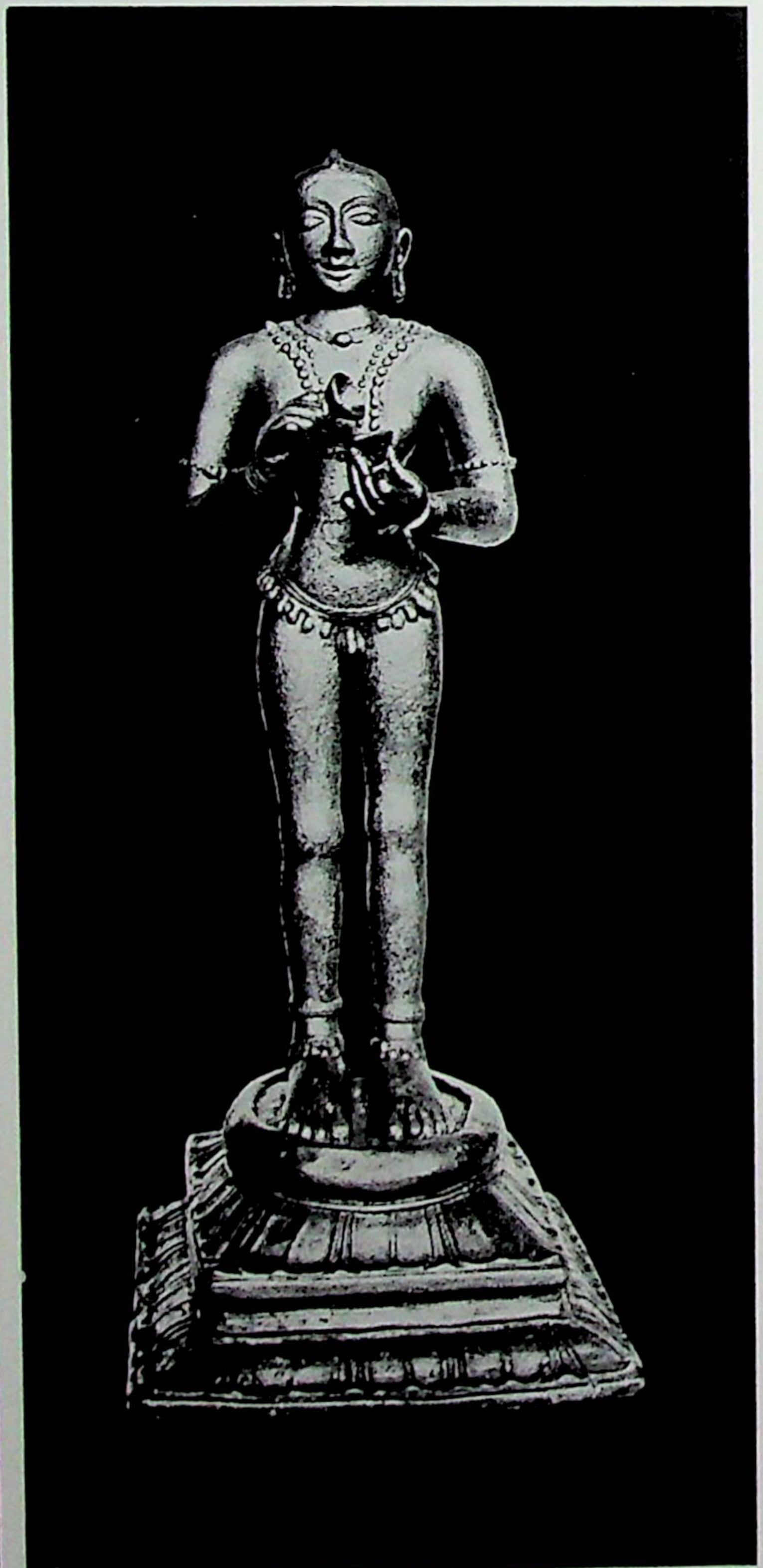


55a. Sūrya. Early Chola, 11th century A.D. Ht. 56 cms.
Hariśchandrapuram, Tanjavur District.
Government Museum, Madras.

55b. Sūrya. Early Chola, 11th century A.D. Ht. 54 cms.
Polonnaruva, Colombo Museum.



56a. Appar. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 58.4 cms. Polonnāruva, Colombo Museum.



56b. Tirujñānasambandar. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 48.6 cms. Polonnāruva, Colombo Museum.



56c. Māṇikkavāchaka. Early Choḷa. 11–12th century A.D. Ht. 54.2 cms. Polonnāruva, Colombo Museum.



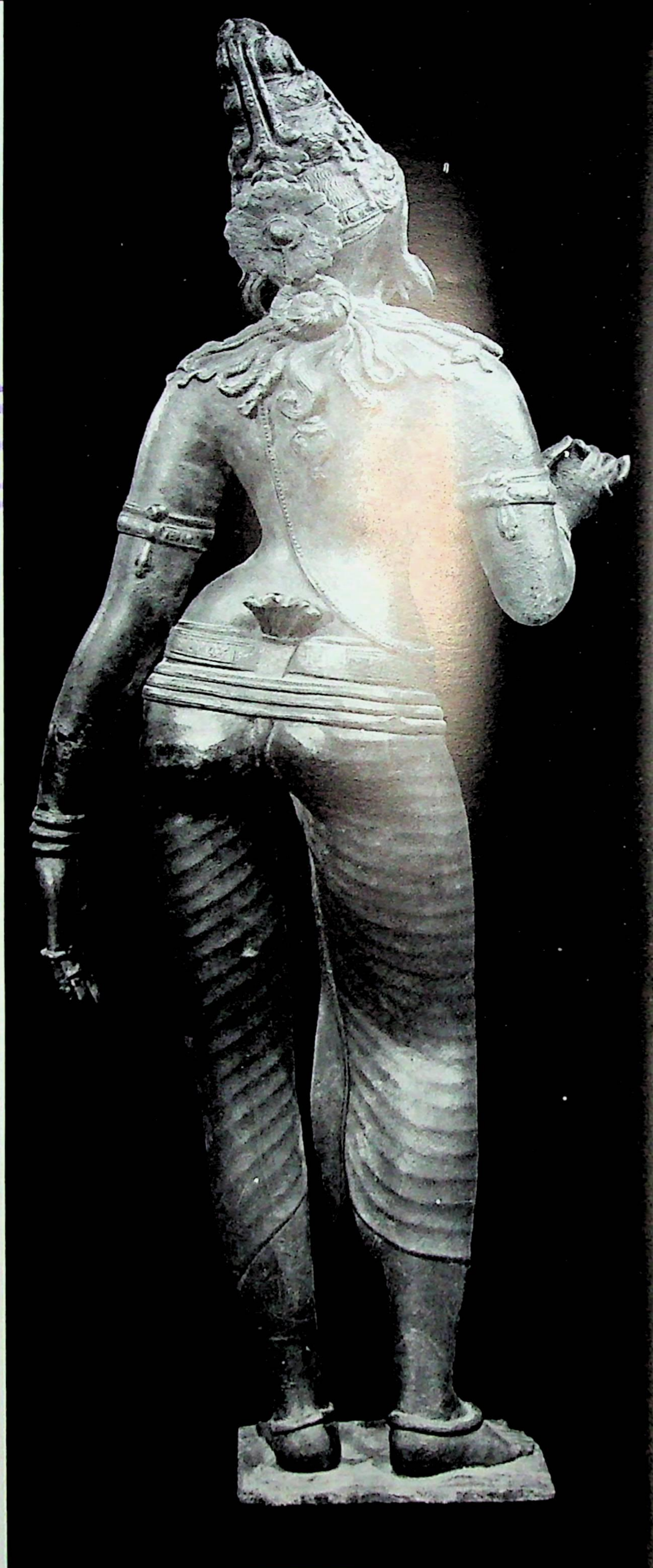
57a. Sundara. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 62.6 cms. Polonnāruva, Colombo Museum.



57b. Māṇikkavāchaka. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 50.7 cms. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



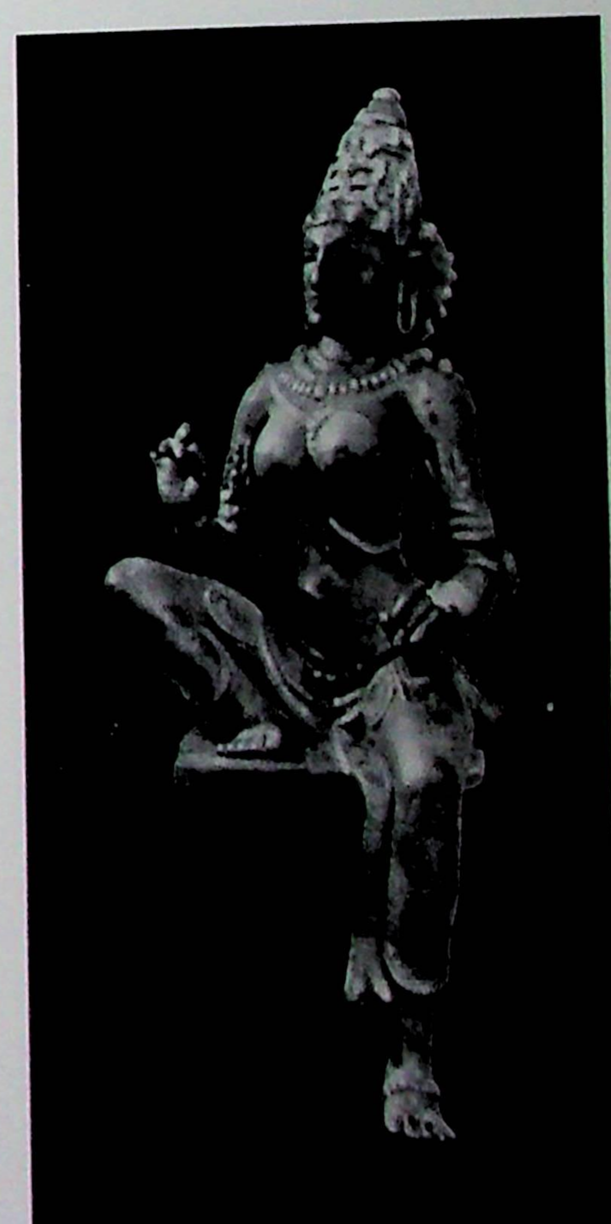
58a. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. *C.* 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 69.5 cms. Cora Tinken Burnett bequest 1957. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



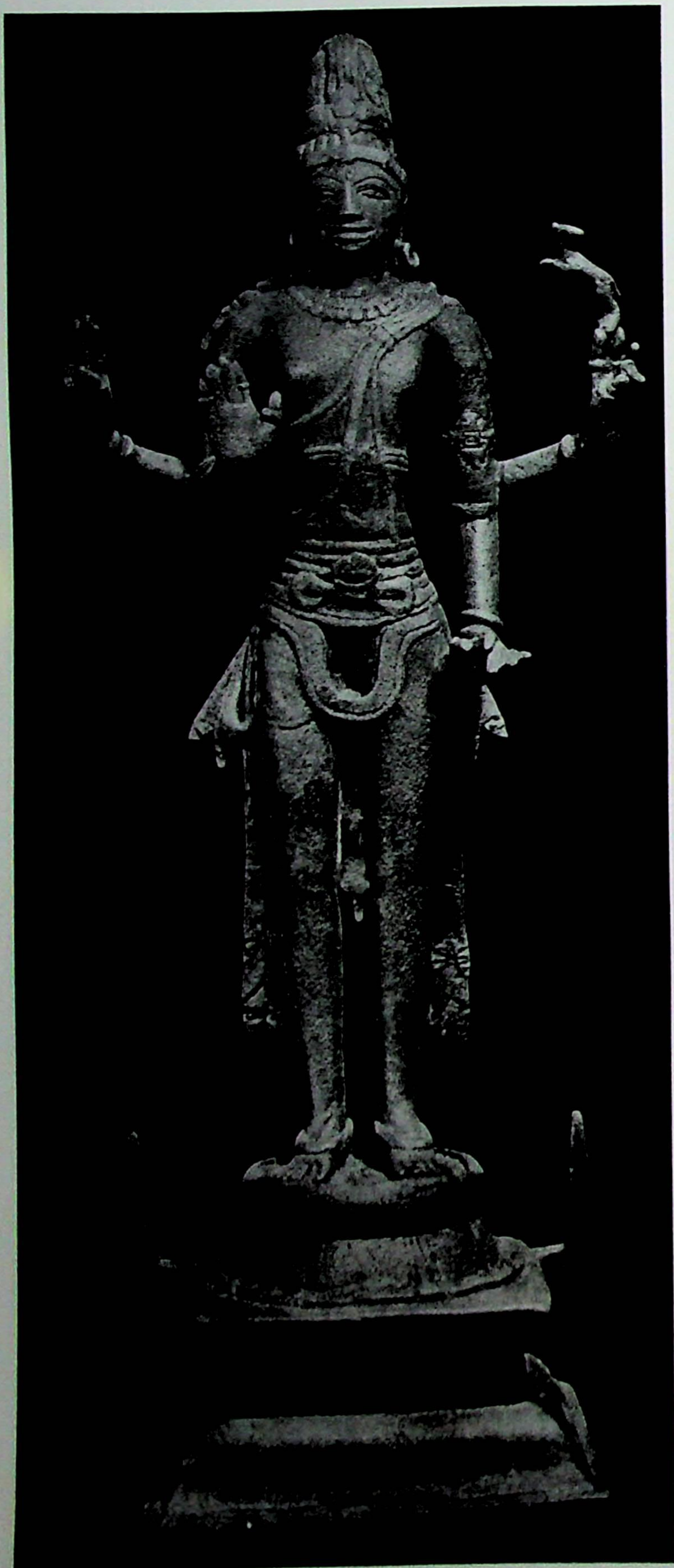
58b. Reverse of pl. 58a.



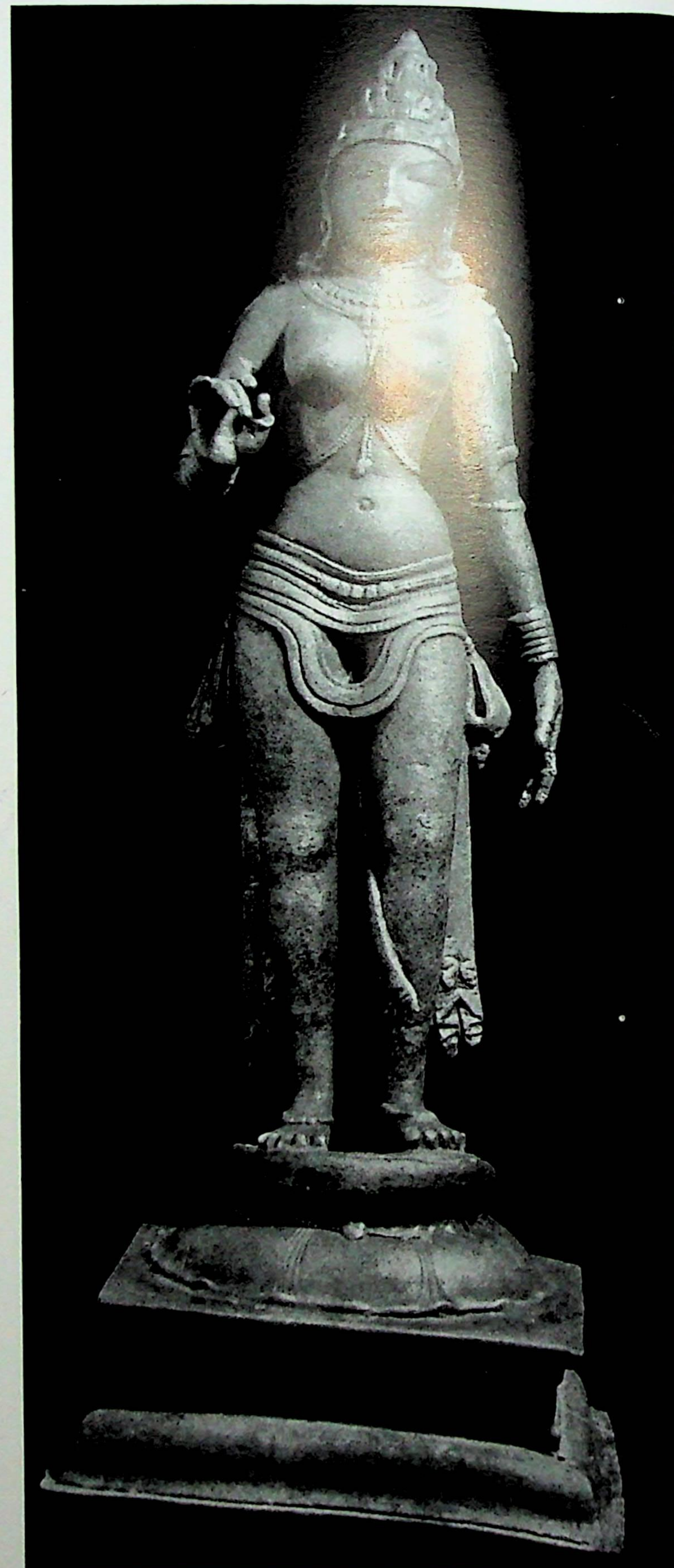
59a. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. C. 1000 A.D. Ht. 42.2 cms. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



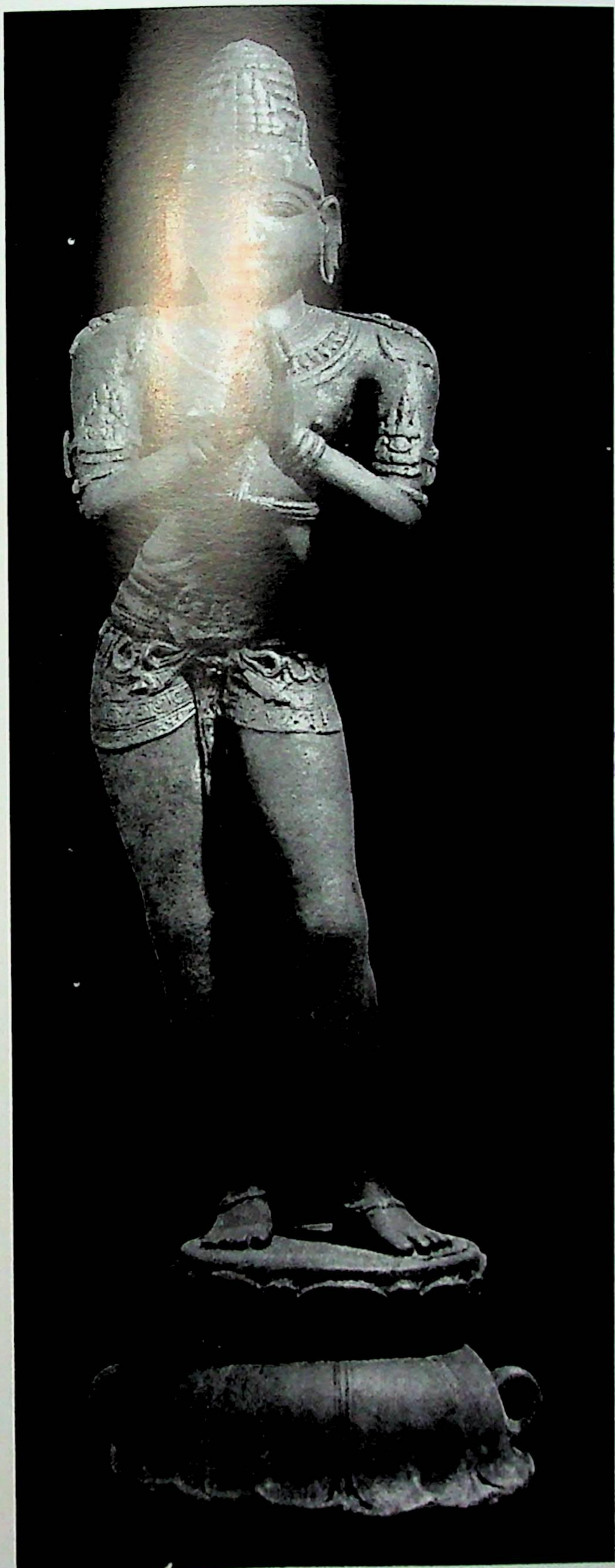
59b. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. C. 1000 A.D. Ht. 34.3 cms. Bhedwar Collection, Bombay.



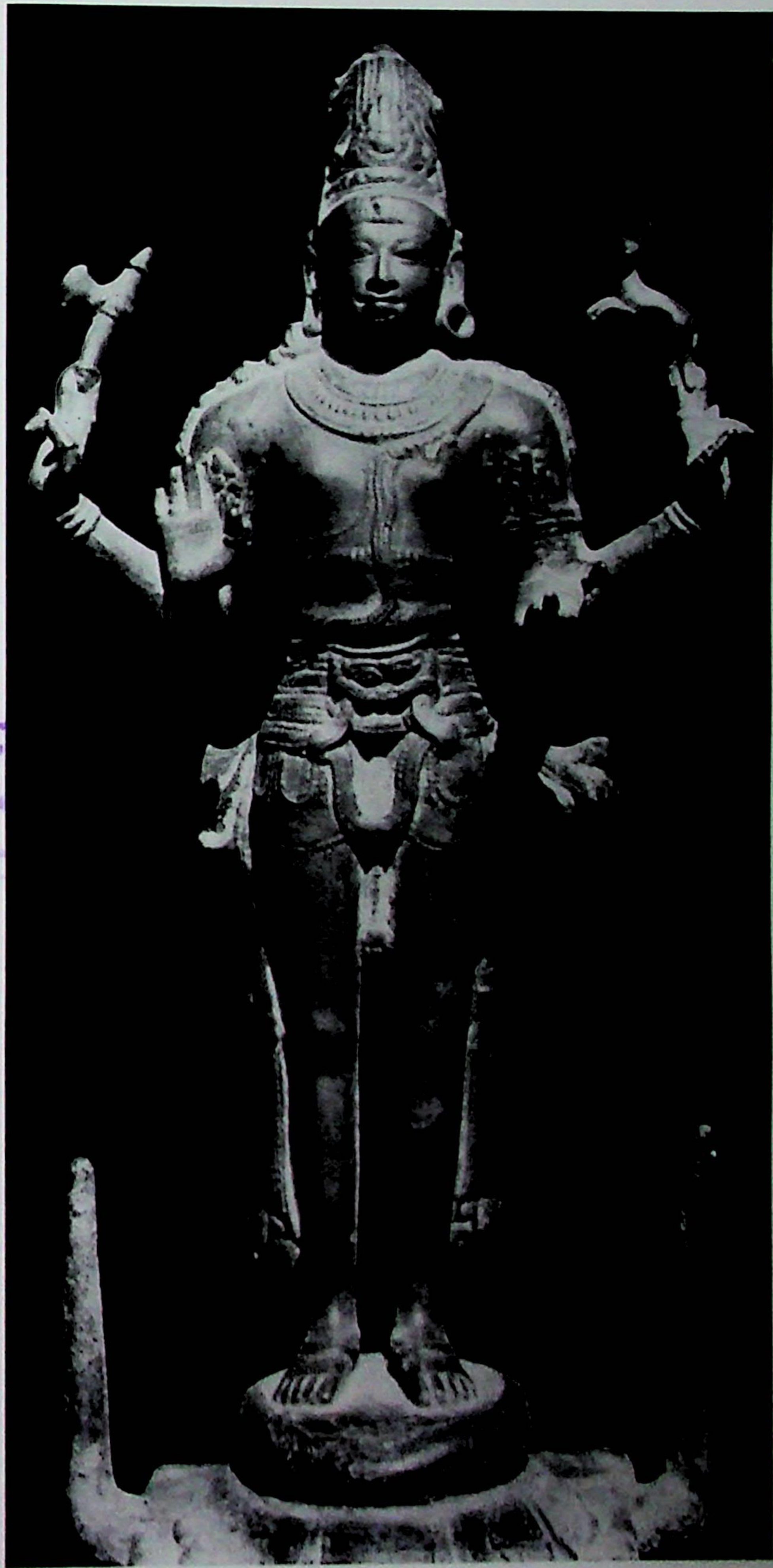
60a. Chandraśekhara. Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. Ht. 38 cms. Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



60b. Pārvatī. Early Choḷa. Late 10th century A.D. Ht. 60 cms. Semaṅgalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



61a. Chaṇḍikeśvara. Early Choḷa. 10th century A.D. Ht. 53 cms. Semangalam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



61b. Chandraśekhara. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 33.5 cms. Haridas Swali Collection, Bombay.



62a. Buddha attended by Nāgarāja *chauri*-bearers. Early Chola. *C.* 1000 A.D. Ht. 74.5 cms. Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



62b. Buddha. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 89 cms. Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



a. Avalokiteśvara. Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D.
adiri, Mangalore District.



63b. Buddha with hand in *vyākhyānamudrā*. Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D.
Kadiri, Mangalore District.



64a. Sudarśana. Late Chola. 12-13th centuries A.D. Ht. [illegible] cms. Locality unknown, probably Tañjāvūr District. Government



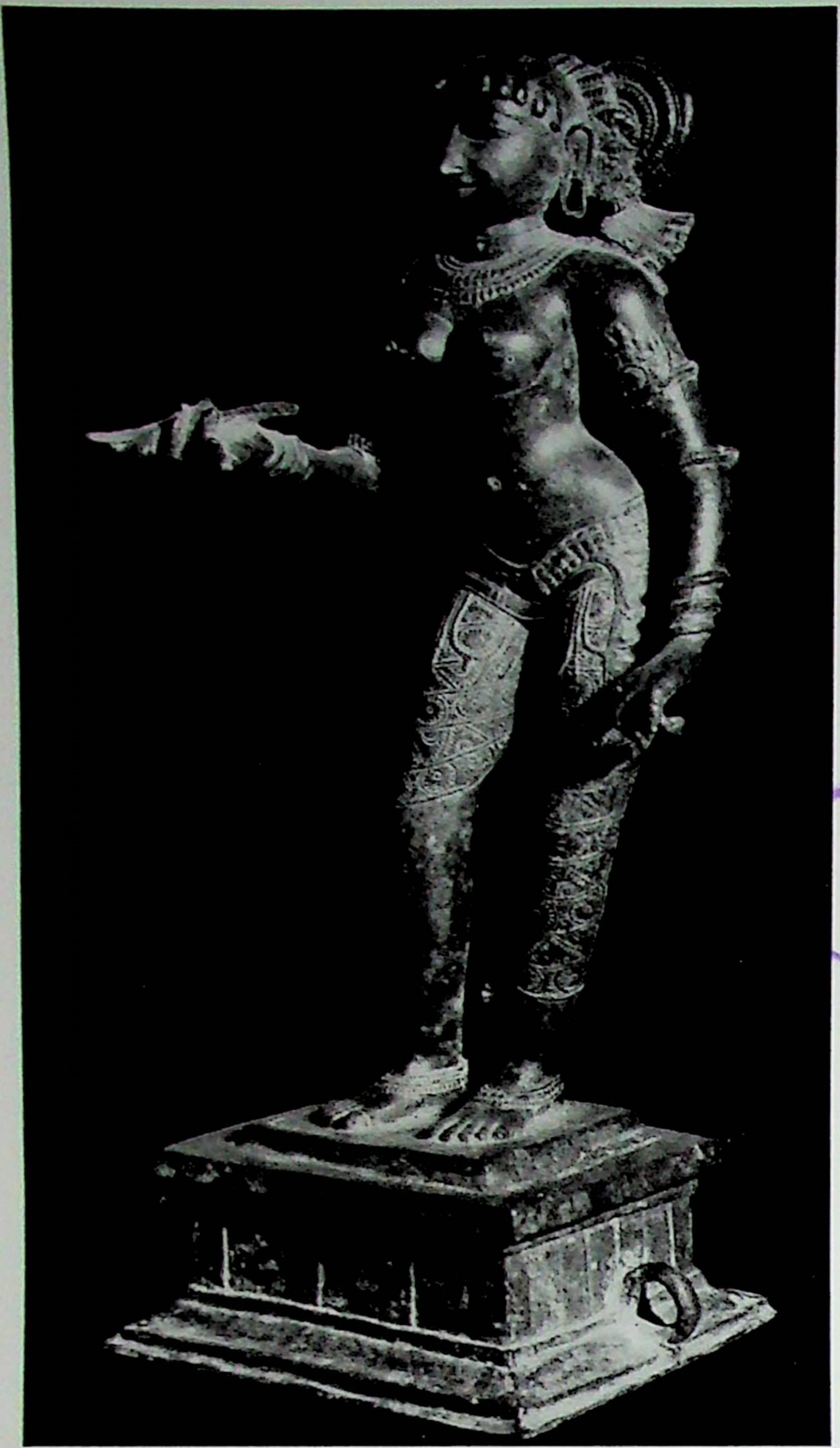
64b. Kaumodakī. Late Chola. 12-13th centuries A.D. Ht. 54 cms. Locality unknown, probably Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



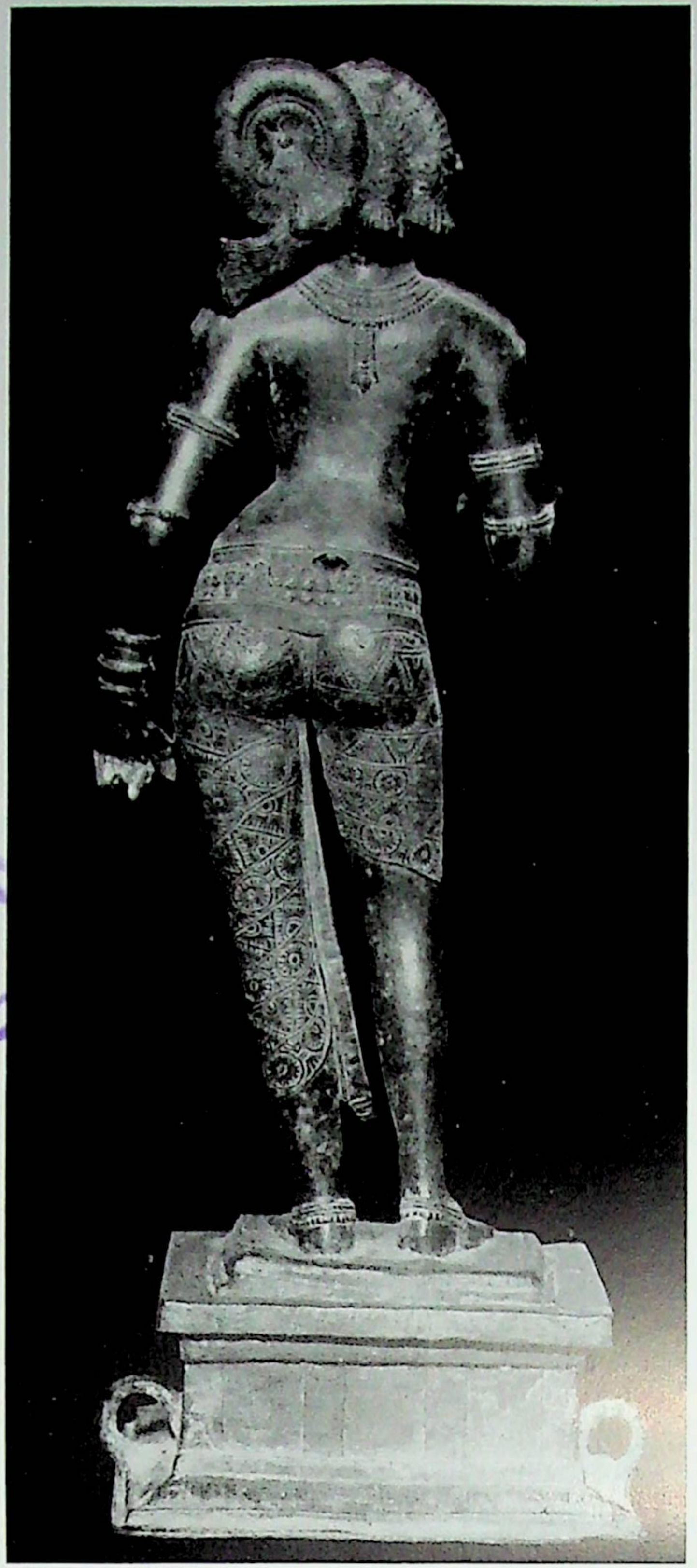
65a. Śūla of Durgā or Śūlapiḍāri. Late Choḷa, 13th century A.D. Ht. 47 cms. Saināpuram, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



65b. Śūla of Siva. Late Choḷa, 13th century A.D. Ht. 45 cms. Sikkal, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



66a. Annapūrṇā. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 60 cms. Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



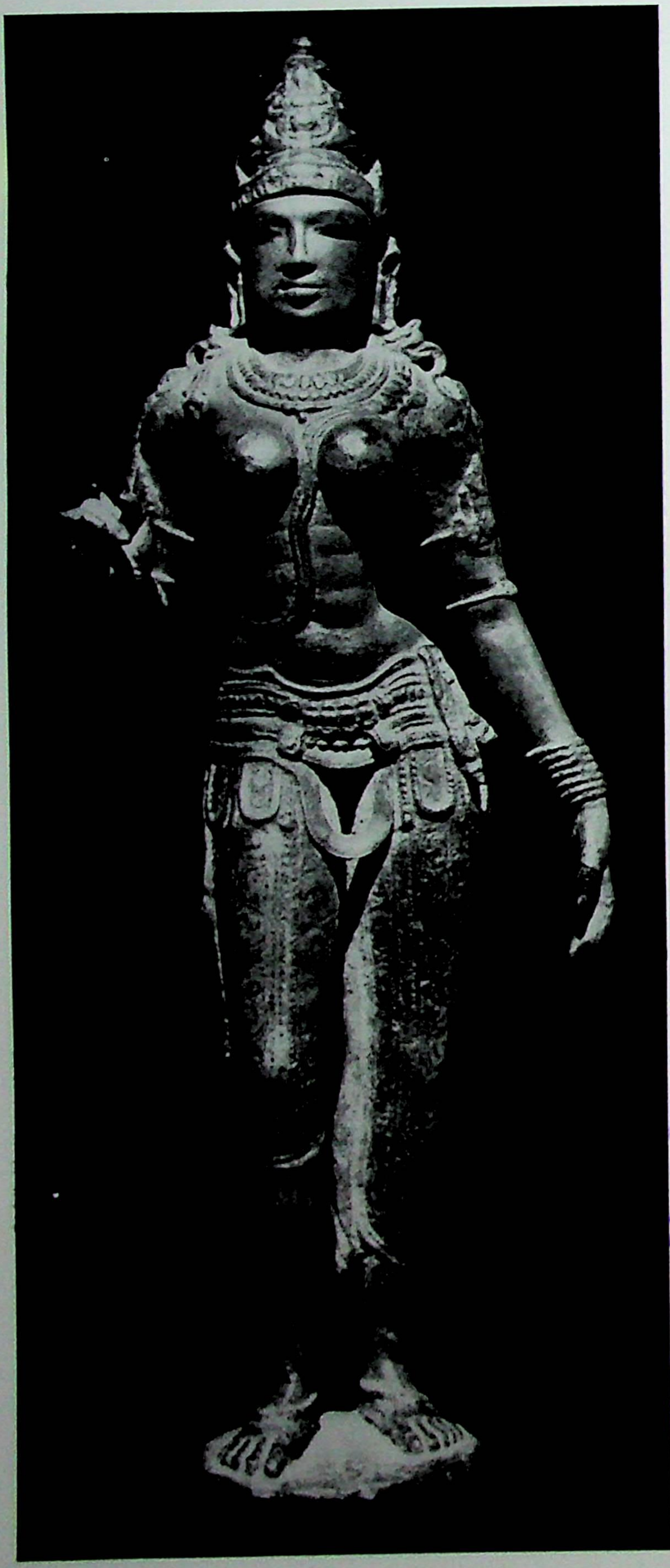
66b. Reverse of pl. 66a.



66c. Devotee. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 54.5 cms. Tañjāvūr District. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



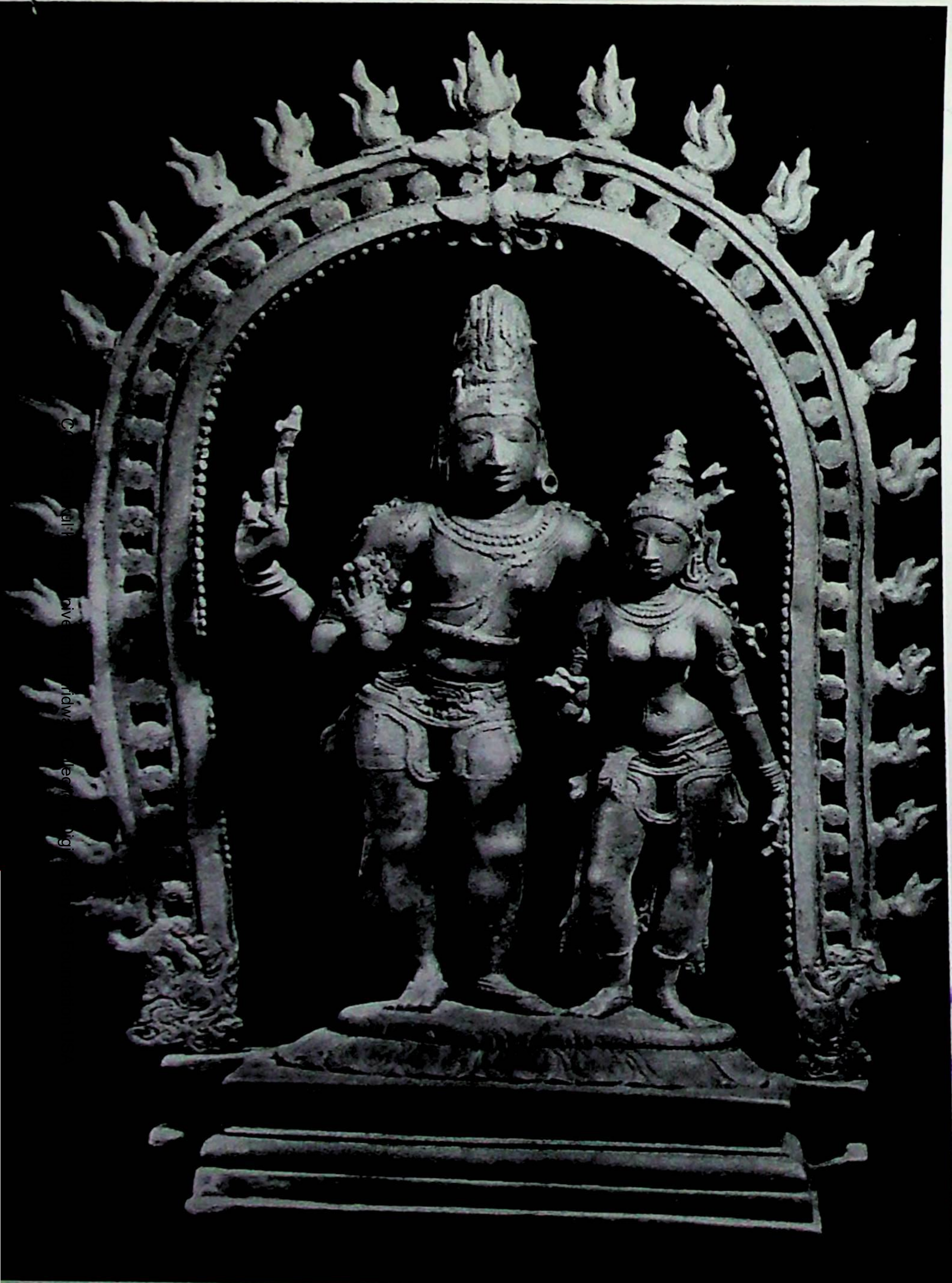
67. Sundaramūrti. Late Choḷa, 12th century A.D. Ht. 61 cms. Kiḷayūr, Tañjāvūr District, Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



68a. Pārvatī. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 30 cms.
Haridas Swali Collection, Bombay.



68b. Lakshmī. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 65.5 cms.
Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



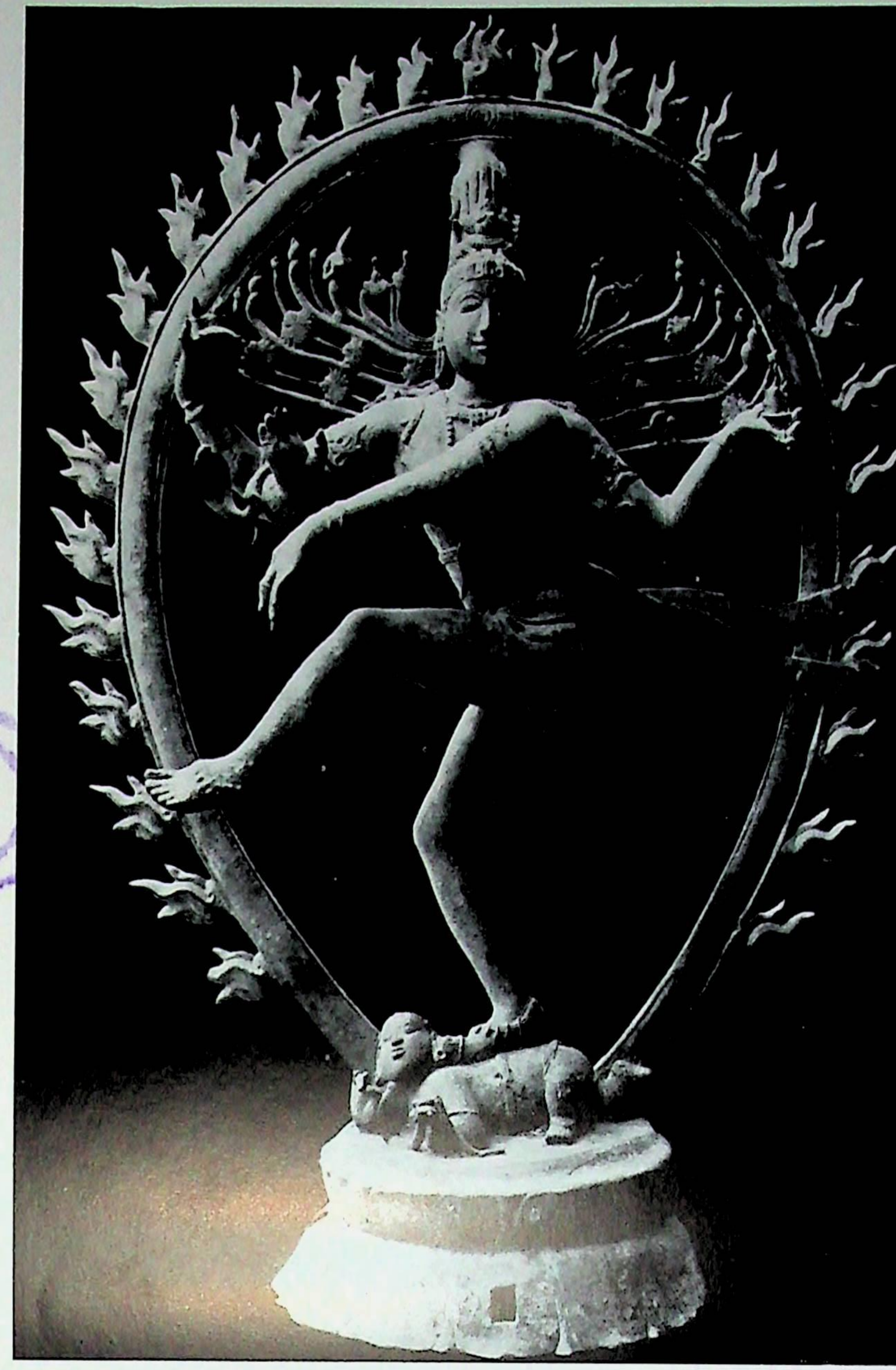
69a. Pradoshamūrti. Late Choḷa. 12-13th centuries A.D. Ht. 50 cms. Government Museum, Madras.



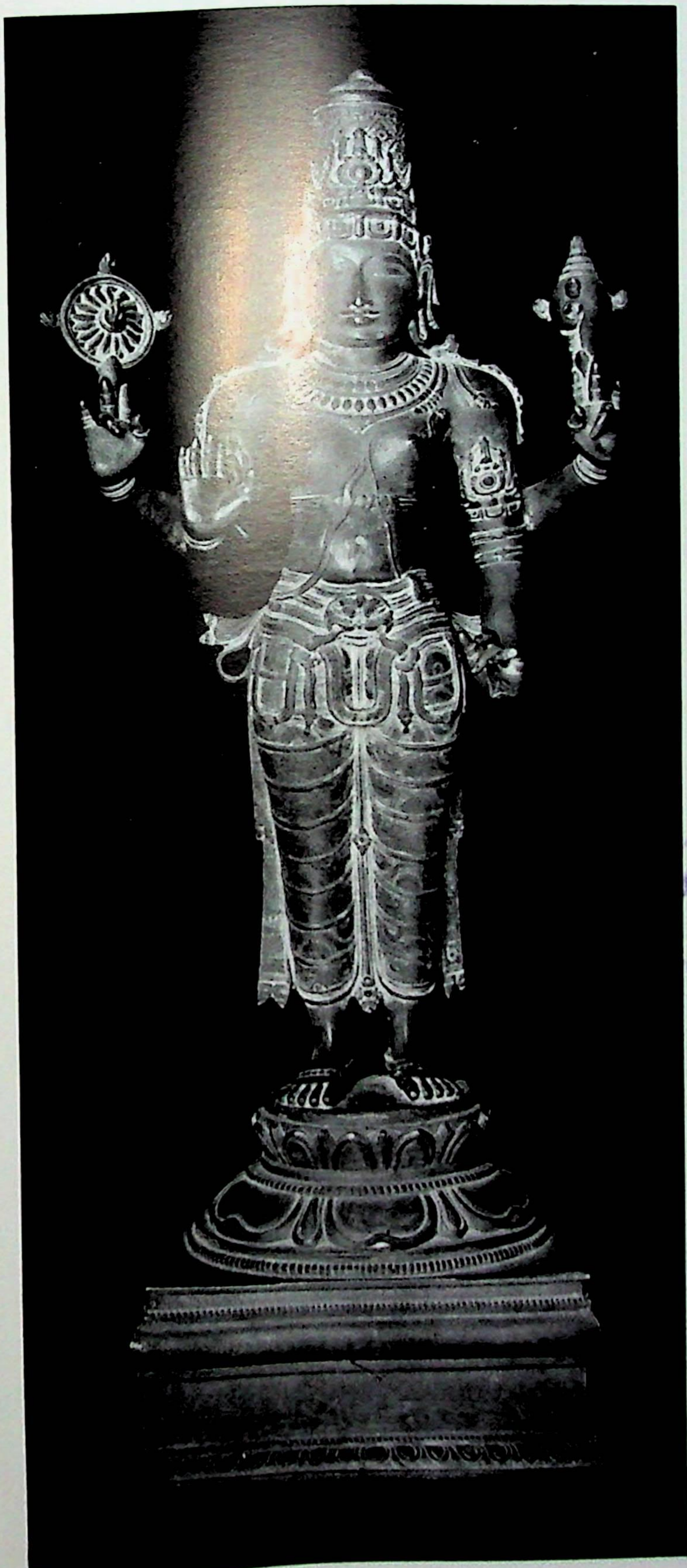
69b. Naṭeśa. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 153.3 cms. National Museum, Amsterdam.



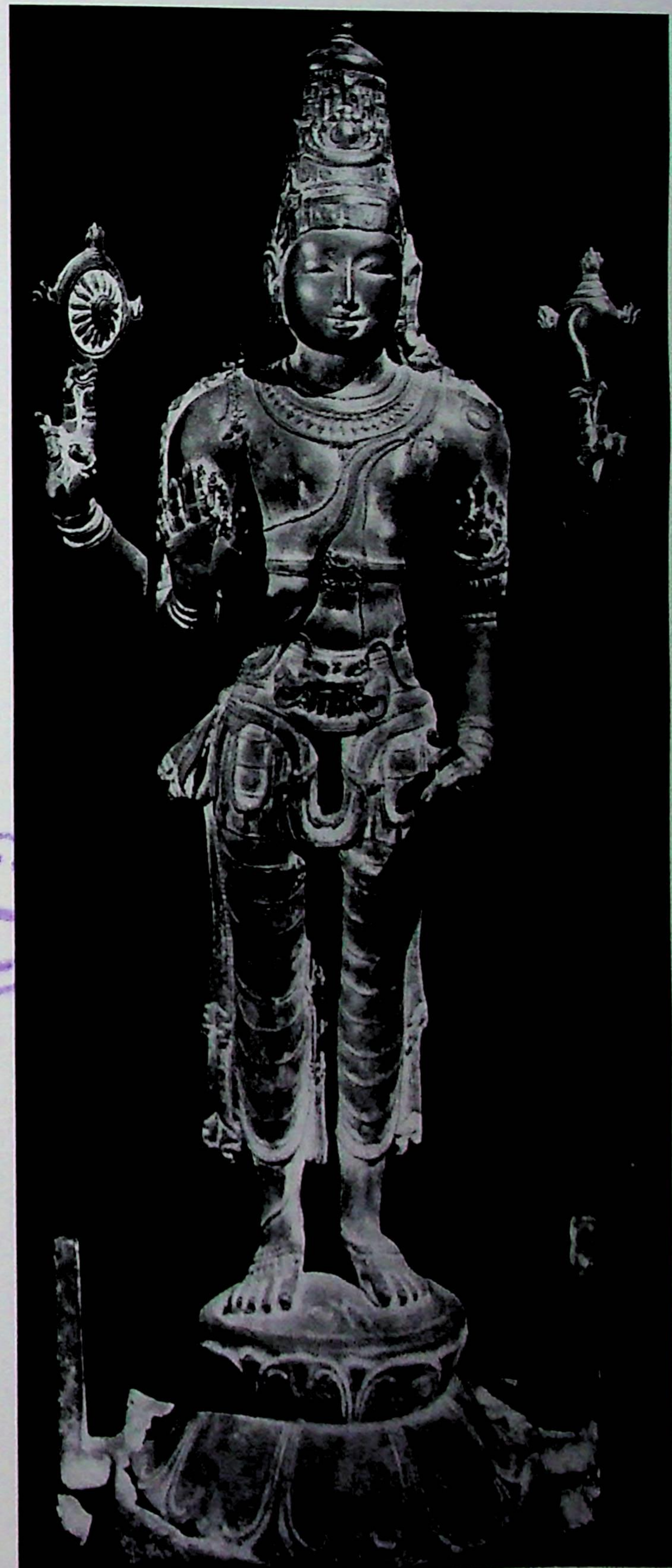
oa. Naṭeśa. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 113 cms. Kaṇkoduttavanitam, añjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



70b. Naṭeśā. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 112.5 cms. Vellālagaram, Tañjāvūr District. Musée Guimet, Paris.



71a. Vishṇu. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 84 . 5 cms. Probably Tañjāvūr District. National Museum of India, New Delhi.



71b. Vishṇu. Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. Ht. 76 . 5 cms. [illegible], Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



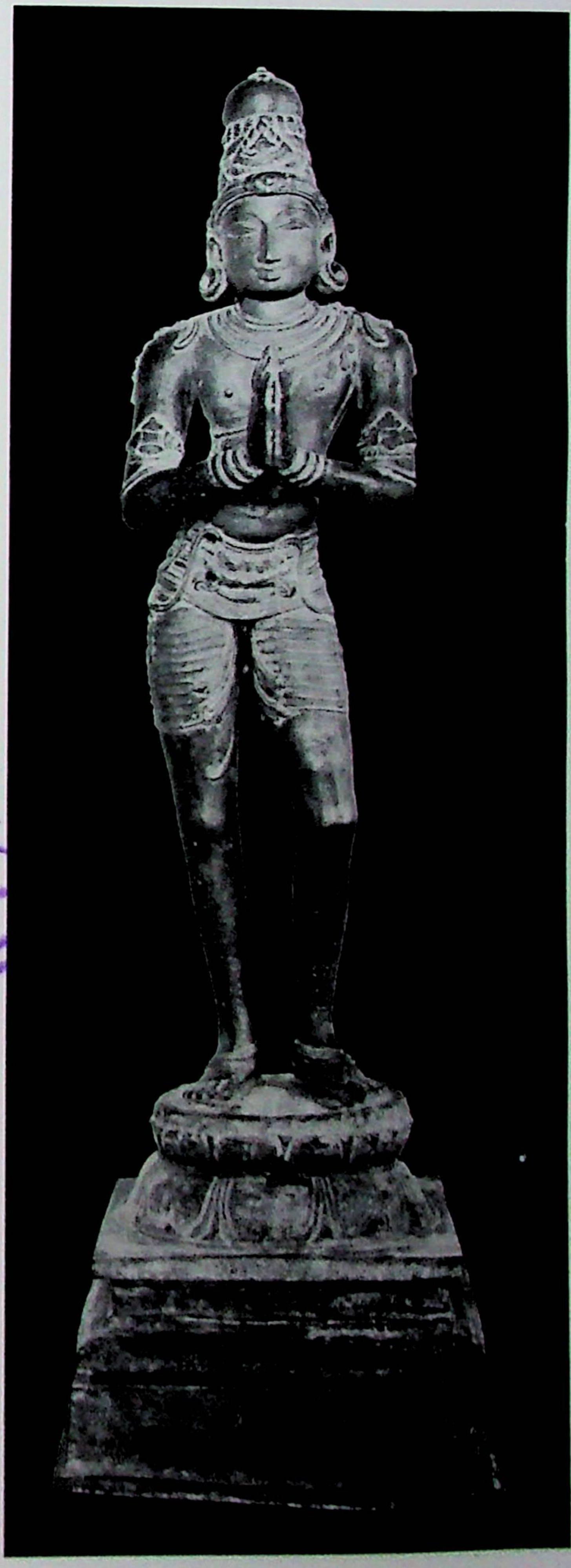
72a. Kālī. Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. Ht. 64 cms. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



72b. Durgā. Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. Ht. 78.5 cms. Tiruvalañjuḷi, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



73a. Veṇugopāla. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D.
Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District.



73b. Chaṇḍikeśvara. Late Choḷa. 12-13th centuries A.D.
Dharmapuram-ādhīnam, Tañjāvūr District.



74a. Yoganarasiṁha. Early-late Choḷa transition. Early 12th century A.D. Ht. 16.5 cms. Locality unknown. Government Museum, Madras.



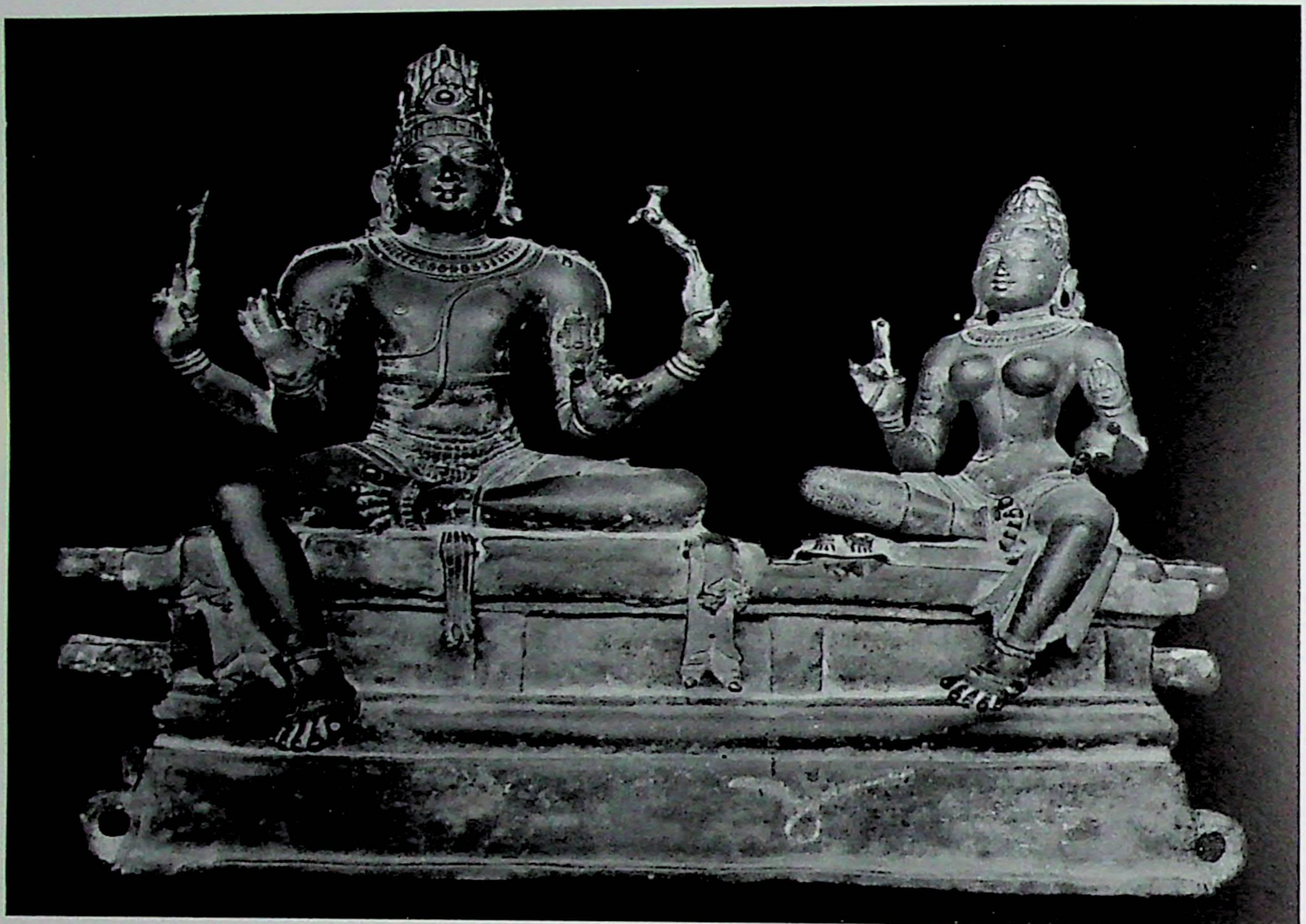
74b. Yoganarasiṁha. Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. Ht. 65 cms. Mañjakkuḍi, Tañjāvūr District.



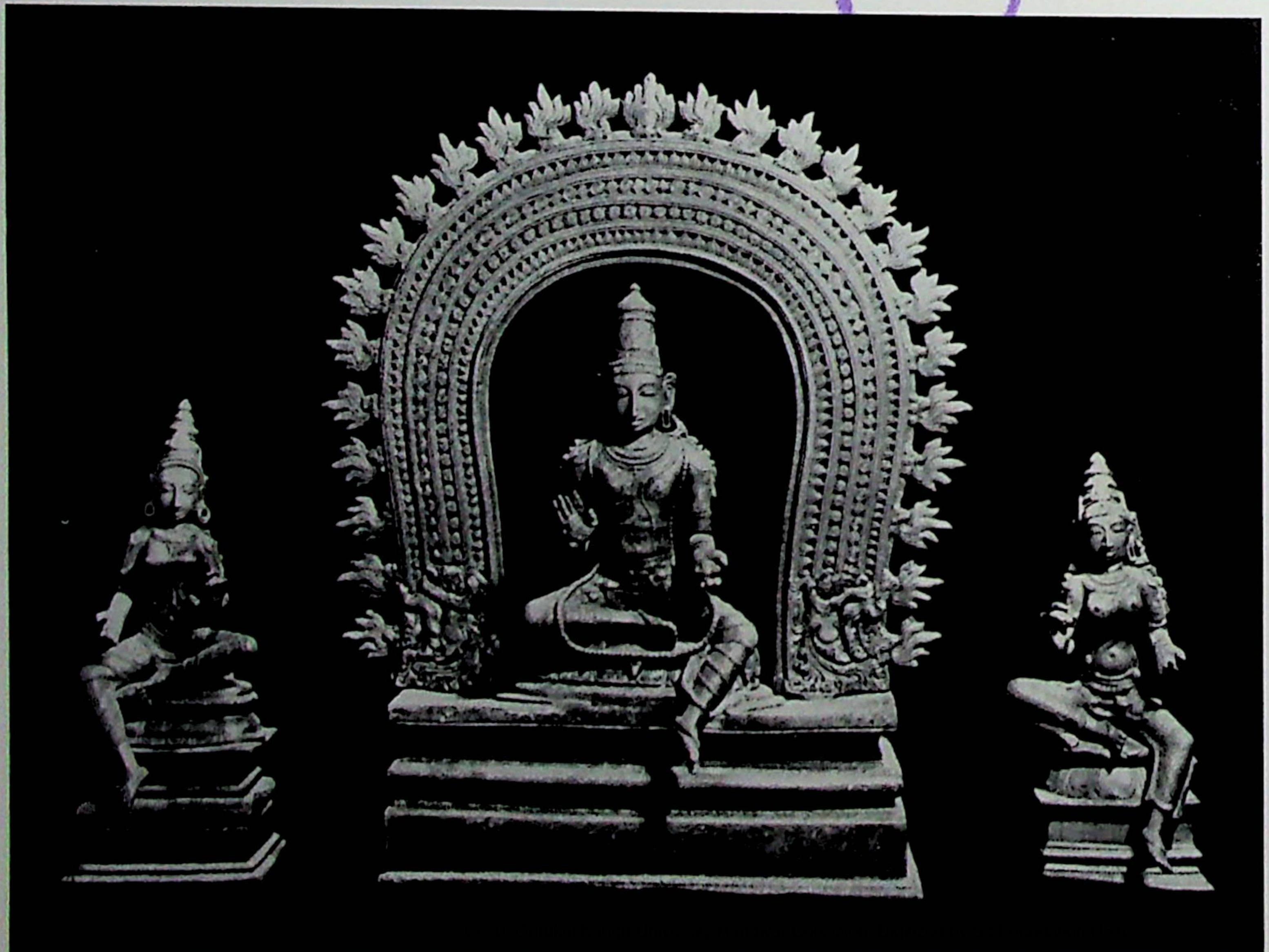
75a. Adhikāranandī with consort. Late Choḷa-Vijayanagara transition. 13-14th centuries A.D. Ht. 72 cms. Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay.



75b. Kaṅkāla. Late Choḷa. 13th century A.D. Ht. 33 cms. Tirukkalar, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



76a. Somāskanda. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Formerly in the collection of S.T. Srinivasa Gopalachari.





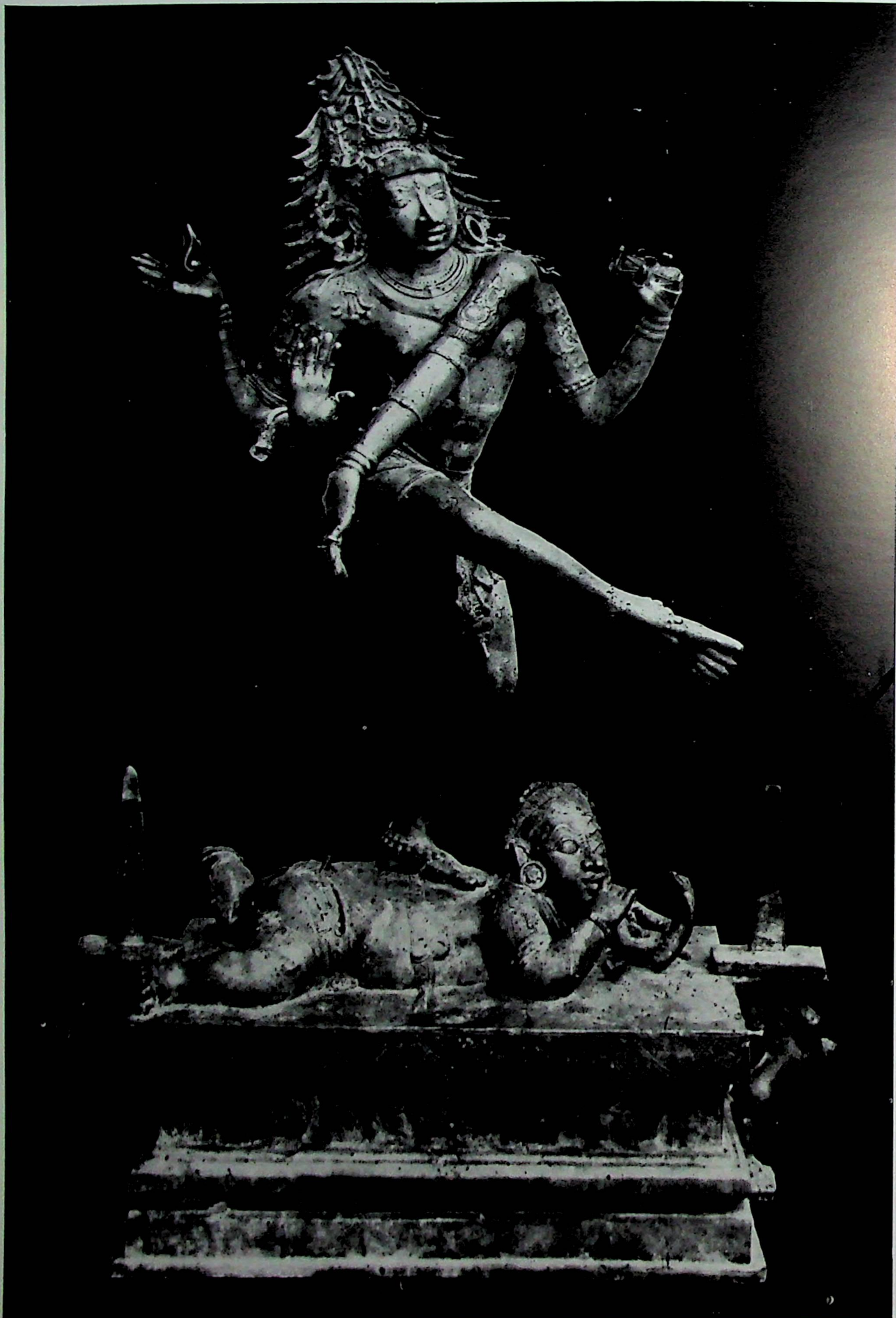
Vishṇu. Early Chera. 9th century A.D. Ht. 56 cms.
drum Museum.



77b. Vishṇu. Early Chera. 9th century A.D. Ht. 15.5 cms.
Trivandrum Museum.



77c. Reverse of pl. 77b.



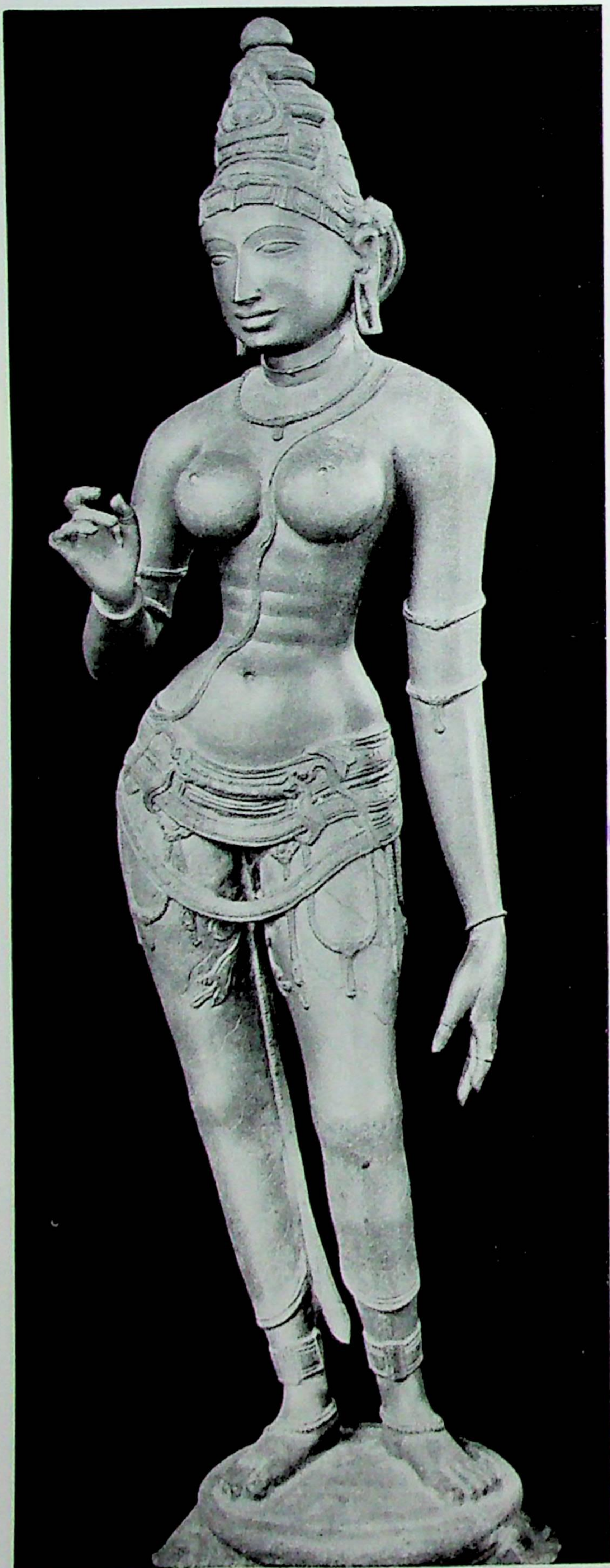
78. Naṭarāja. Early Pāṇḍya. Early 11th century A.D. Ht. 105 cms. Poruppumettupatti, Madurai District. Government Museum, Madras.



79a. Yaśodā-Kṛishṇa. Late Choḷa-Vijayanagara transition. 13-14th centuries A.D. Ht. 12.5 cms. Togūr, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



79b. Bālasubrahmaṇya. Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Ht. 50 cms. Arayankuḍi, Tañjāvūr District. Government Museum, Madras.



80a. Pārvatī. Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. Ht. 91.5 cms.
Tiruveḷvikkuḍi, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



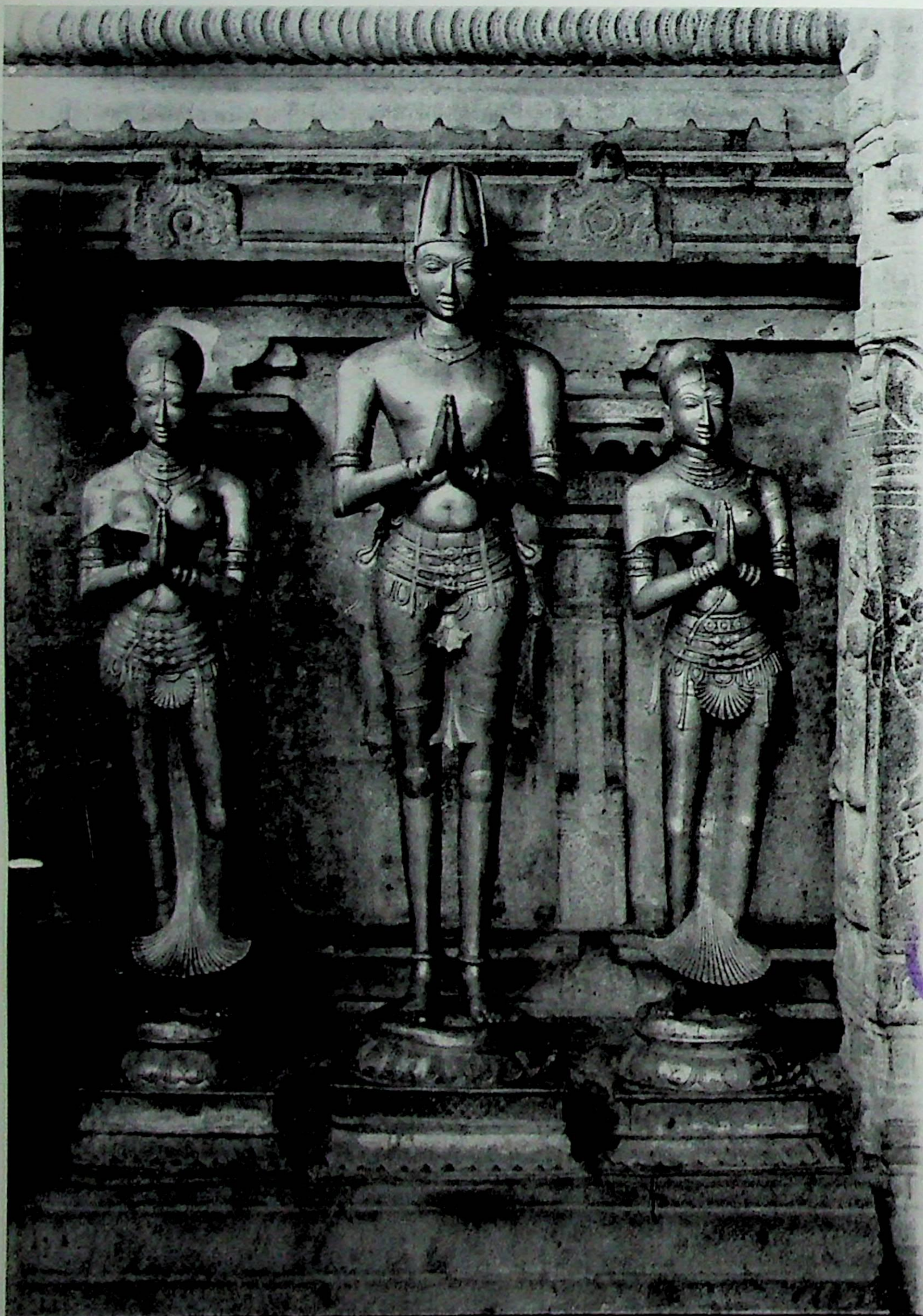
80b. Pārvatī. Vijayanagara. 16-17th centuries A.D. Ht 93 cms.
[illegible] Museum of India, New Delhi.



81a. Royal devotee. Late Choḷa. Early 12th century A.D. Ht. 74 cms. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



81b. Choḷa queen. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. 53.5 cms. Gautam Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad.



82a. Krishṇadevarâya with his queens Tirumalāmbā and Chinnâdevî. Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. Ht. about 122 cms. Tirupati.



82b. Kolaga Ṛishi. Late Choḷa. Early 12th century A.D. Koḍikarai, Tañjâvūr District.



83a. Bālakṛishṇa. Late Choḷa. 12-13th centuries A.D. Ht. 60.5 cms. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.



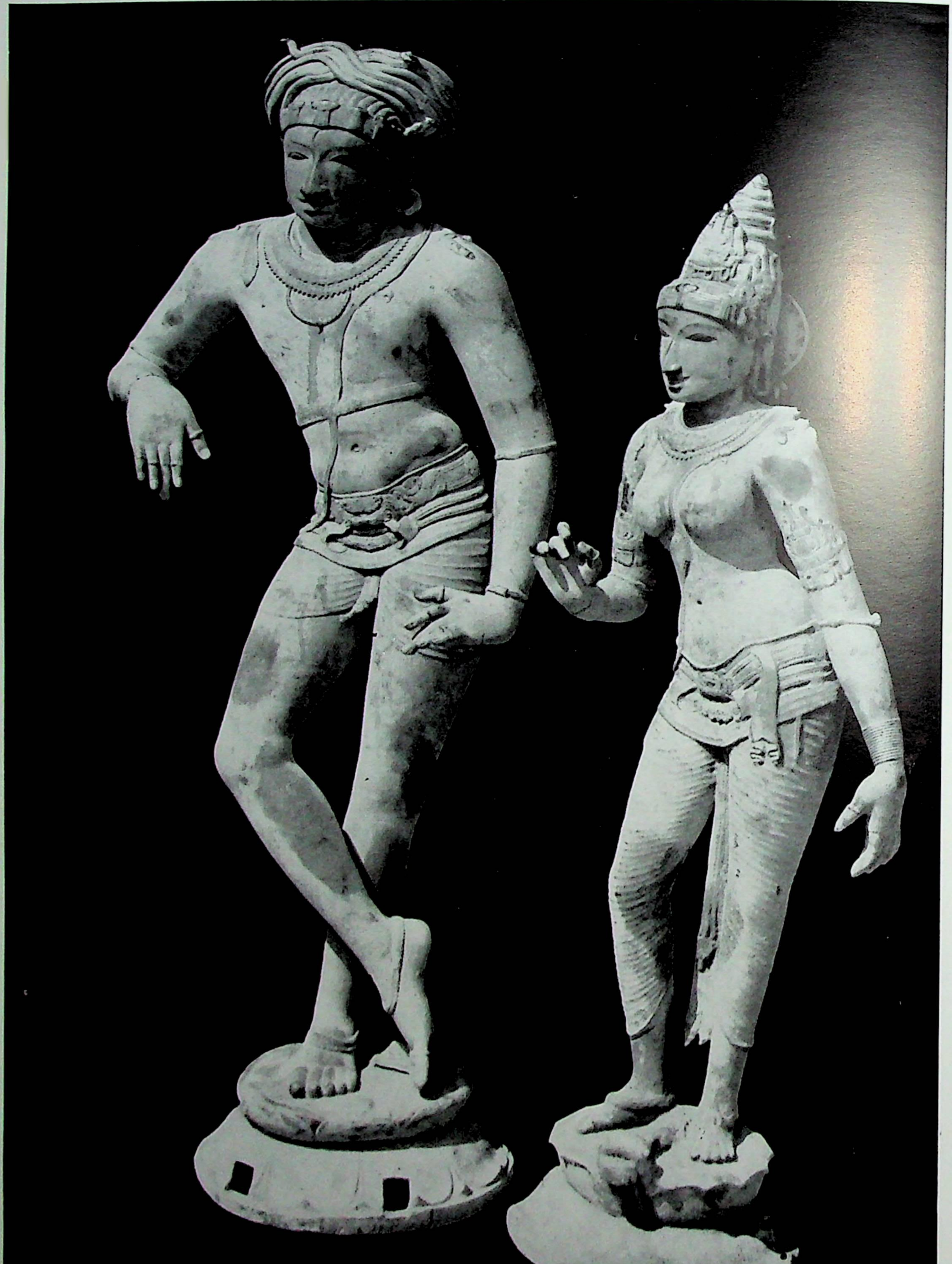
83b. Kāliya-Kṛishṇa. Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D. Sundaraperumālkoil, Tañjāvūr District.



84. Naṭarāja. Early Choḷa. 9-10th centuries A.D. Śivapuram., Tañjāvūr District.

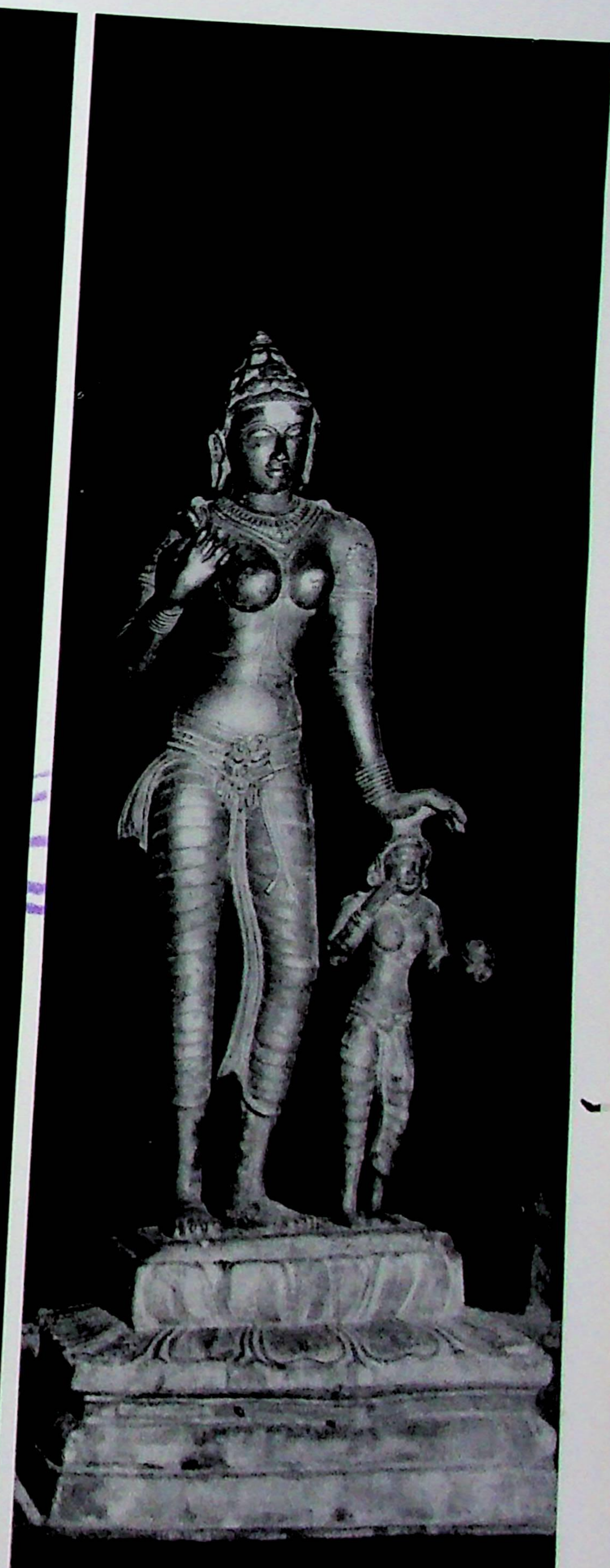


85. Kalyāṇasundaramūrti. Early Choḷa. 11th century A.D. Ht. 95.2 cms. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.

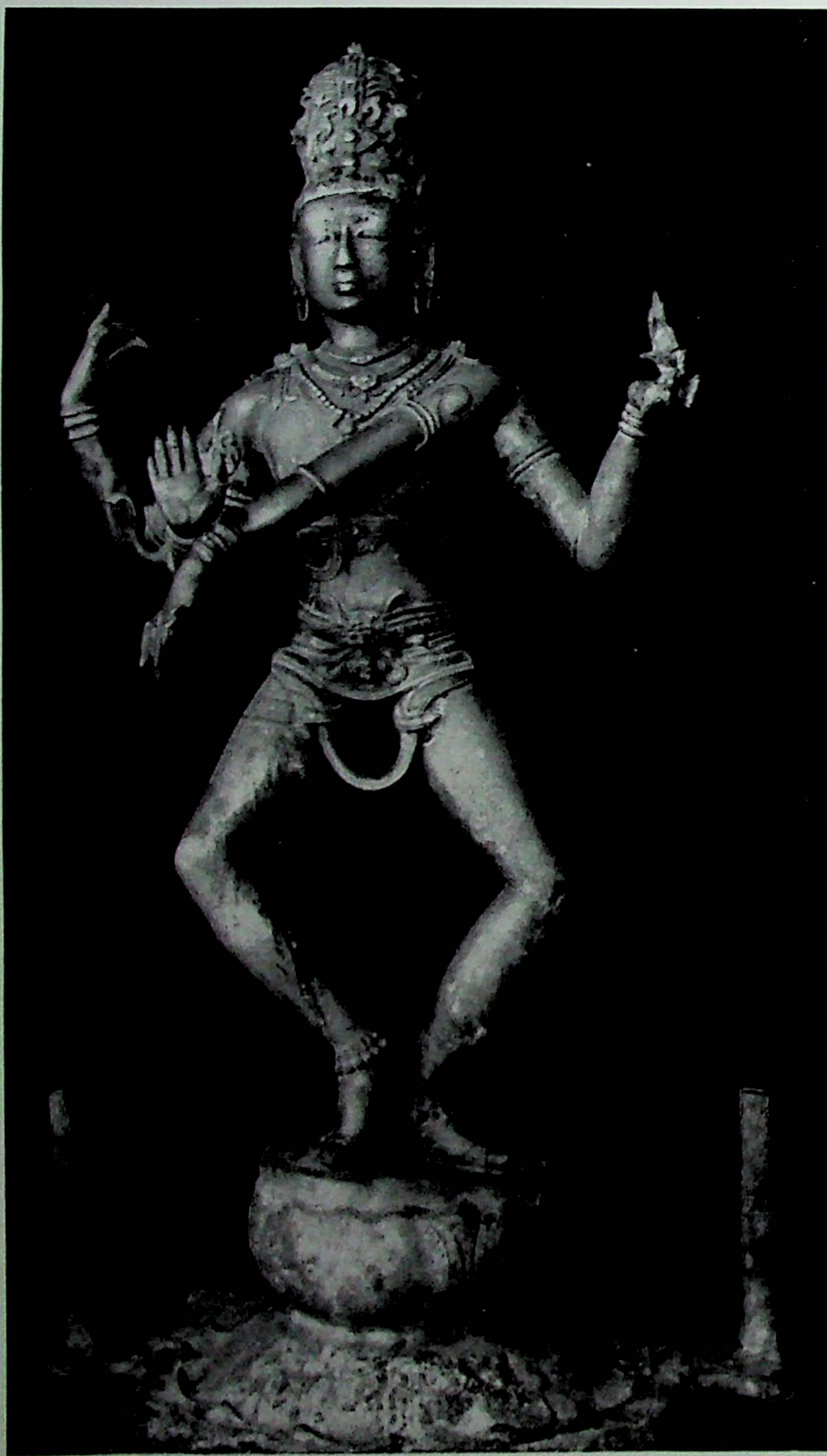


86. Vṛishabhavāhanamūrti with Devī. Early Chola. 1011 A.D. Hts. 106.5 cms. and 93 cms. Tiruveṅgāḍu, Tañjāvūr District. Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr. See detail in Colour Pl. B.





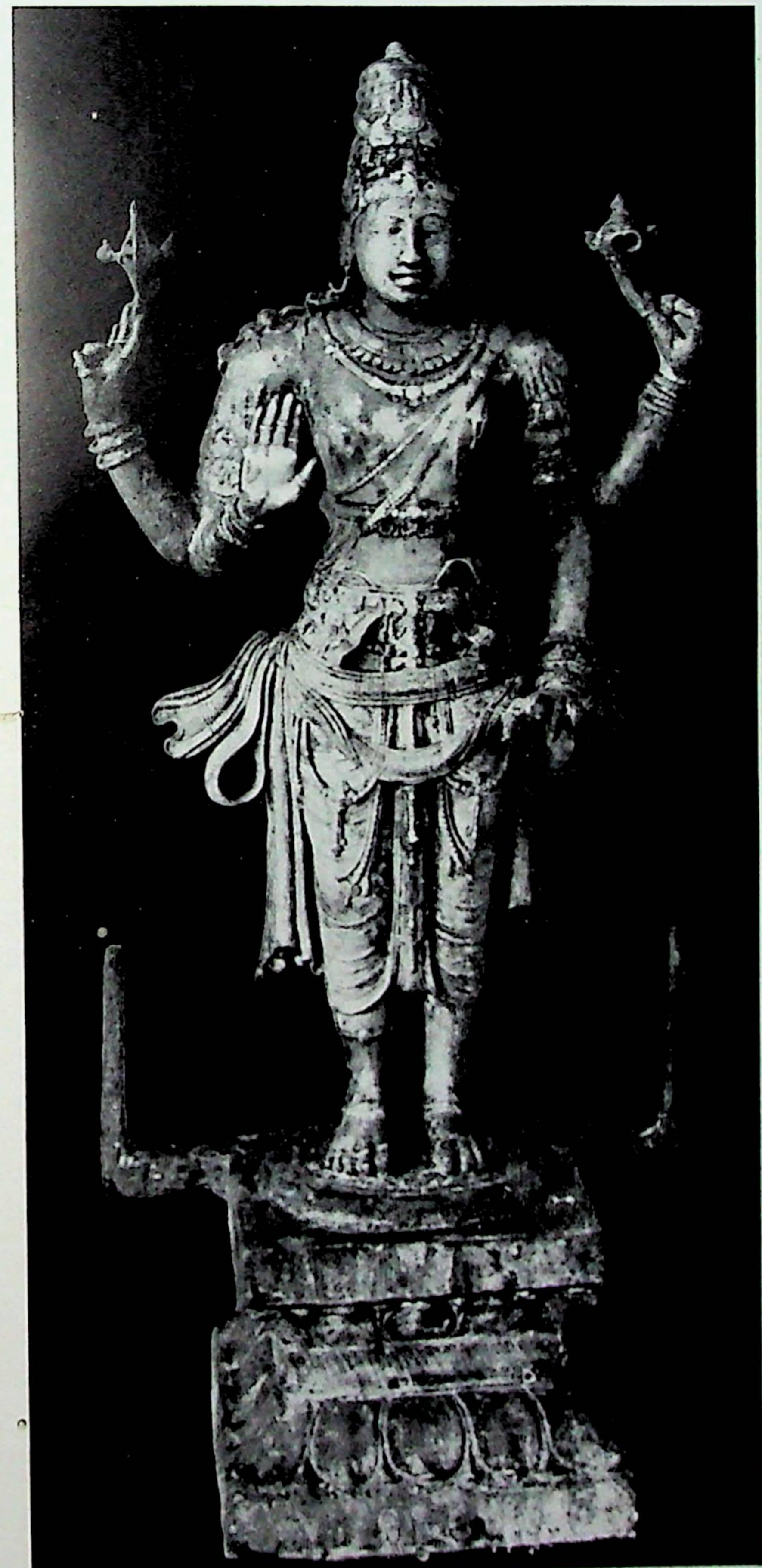
89. Tripurāntaka, Tripurasundarī and female attendant. Pāṇḍya. 10th century A.D. Under worship in the Śiva temple at Koḍumuḍi. Coimbatore District, Madras.



90a. Naṭeśa dancing in the *lalita* mode. Pāndya. 10th century A.D. Ht. 63.5 cms. Under worship in the Śiva temple at Koḍumuḍi, Coimbatore District, Madras.



90b. Reverse of pl. 90a.



91a. Vishṇu. Pāṇḍya. 10th century A.D. Under worship in temple, Koḍumuḍi, Coimbatore District.



91b. Reverse of pl. 91a.



92a. Veṇugopala. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. From Ādijagannāthasvāmi temple, Tiruppallāni, Rāmanāthapuram District.



92b. Gajāntaka. Early Choḷa. Late 11th century A.D. Vaḻuvūr, Tañjāvūr District.



93a



93b

93a. Dakshiṇāmūrti. Vijayanagara. 16th century A.D. Ht. 11 cms. Musée Guimet, Paris.

93b. Bhairava. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 41 cms. Musée Guimet, Paris.



93c. Somāskanda. Early Choḷa. → 11th century A.D. Ht. 58 cms. Musée Guimet, Paris.



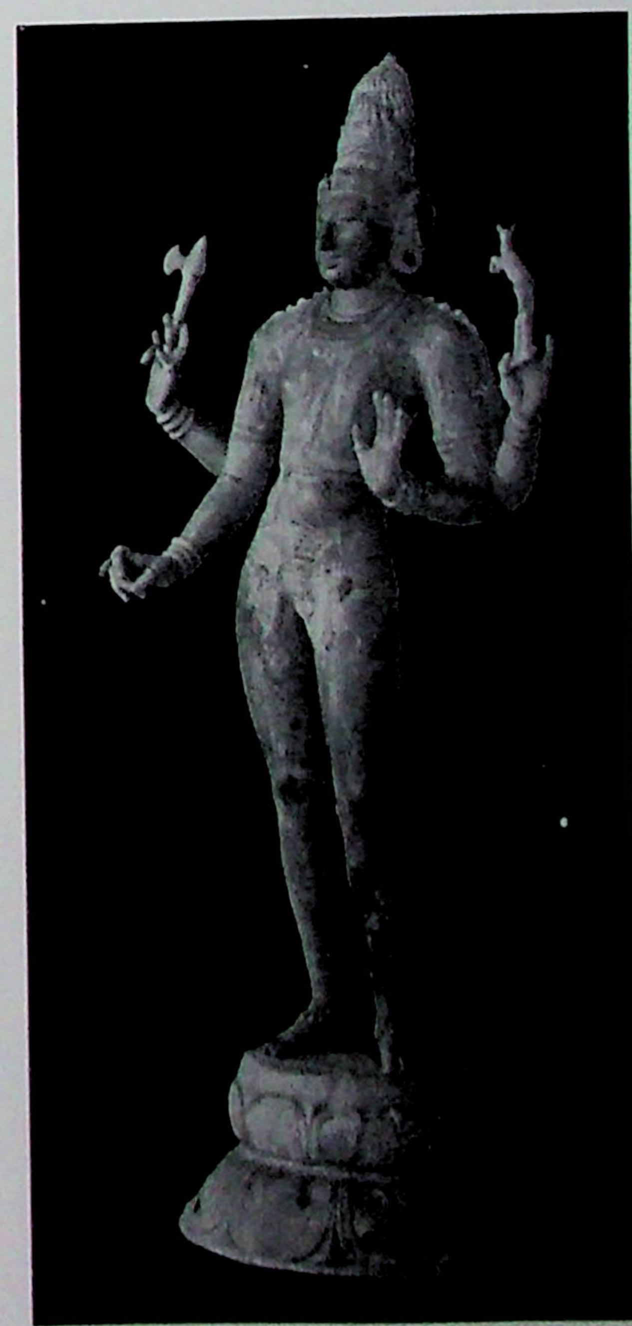
94a. Devī. Late Chera. 17th century A.D.
Ht. 52 cms. Government Museum, Madras.



94b. Adhikāranandi with consort. Vijayanagara. 14th century A.D. Ht. 88 cms.
[illegible] Tañjāvūr Art Gallery, Tañjāvūr.



95a. Detail of Śrīdevī, of pl. [illegible]



95b. Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara. Early Choḷa. 1000 A.D. Ht. 109.2 cms. Bhedwar Collection, Bombay.



96b. Dīpalakshmī. Nāyak. 17th century A.D. Madurai.



96a. Kālāntakamūrti. Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D.
Tirukkaḍayūr, Tañjāvūr District.



96c. Heraṁbagaṇapati. Vijayanagara. 15th century A.D.
Nāgapaṭṭiṇam, Tañjāvūr District.



97. Vṛishavāhanamūrti with consort and Nandi, Early Chola, 11th century A.D. Ht. 100.4 cms. Kīḷvelūr, Tañjāvūr District.



98. Ardhanārīśvara with bull. Late Choḷa. 12th century A.D. Ht. about 120 cms. Melakaḍambūr, Tañjāvūr District.



99. Umā and Skanda of Somāskanda group. Early Chola, 9-10th centuries A.D. Ht. 60.3 cms. Under worship in the Pallavanīśvarasvāmi temple, Pallavanīśvaram, Śirkāḷi, Tañjāvūr District.



ooa. Nartesvara. Pāla. 10th century A.D. Ht. 40 cms. Under worship in the Amṛitaghateśvara emple, Melakadambur, Tañjāvūr District.



100b. Kālī. Early Choḷa. *C.* 10th century A.D. Ht. 40.3 cms. Von der Heydt Collection. Rittberg Museum, Zurich.